

# **BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA**

**Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya**

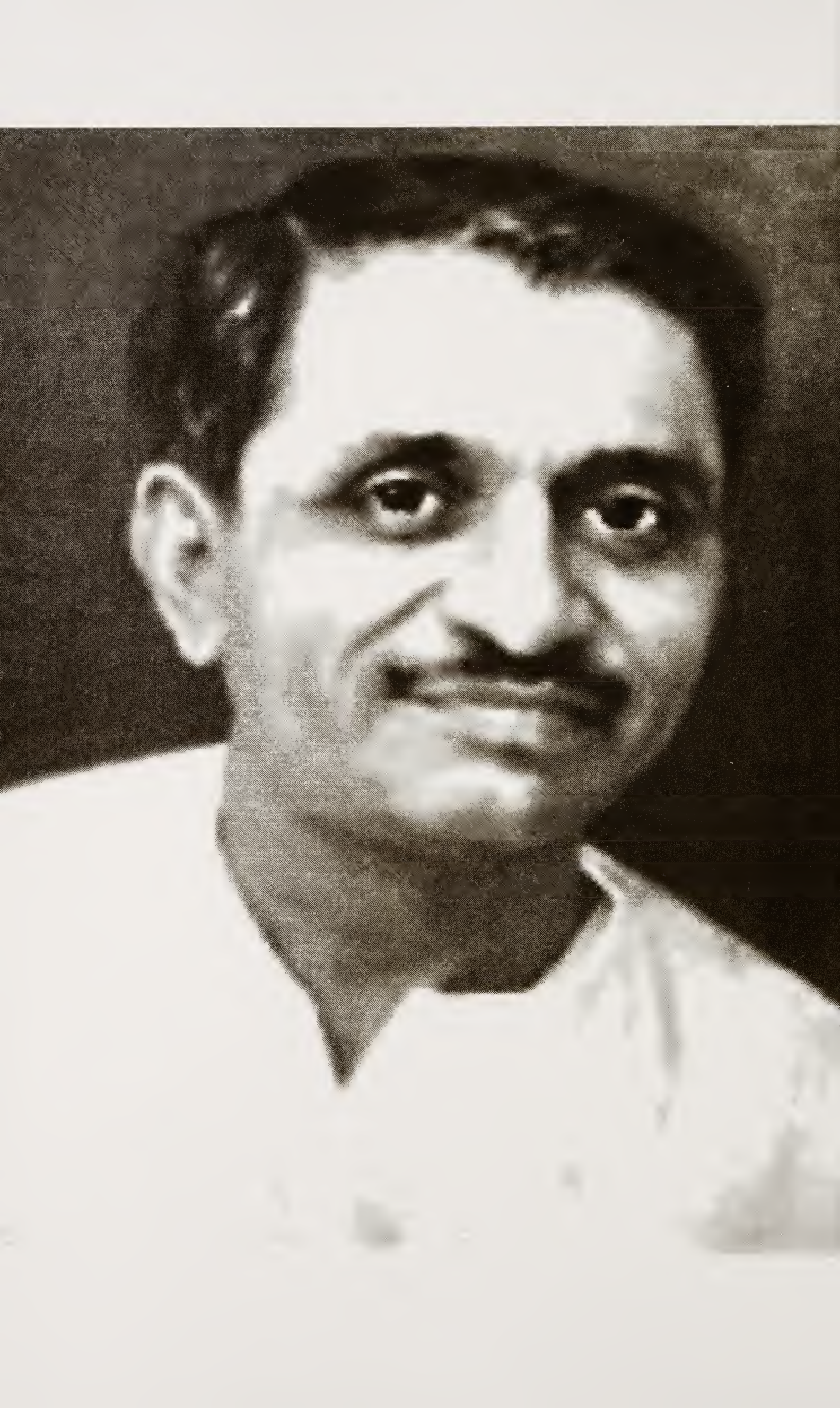
**Mahesh Chandra Sharma**

**PUBLICATIONS DIVISION**












**BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA**

**Pandit  
Deendayal Upadhyaya**



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2018 with funding from  
Public.Resource.Org



**BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA**

**Pandit  
Deendayal Upadhyaya**

**Mahesh Chandra Sharma**



**PUBLICATIONS DIVISION  
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

First Print : 2004 (*Saka 1926*)

Reprint : 2015 (*Saka 1936*)



© Author



ISBN : 978-81-230-1972-7

BMI-ENG-REP-054-2014-15

Price : ₹ 130.00

Published by Additional Director General, Publications Division,  
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India,  
Soochna Bhawan, CGO Complex, Lodhi Road, New Delhi-110003

<http://www.publicationsdivision.nic.in>

Editor : Subhashree

Translator : Shakti Batra

Cover Design : G. P. Dhope

Photographs Courtesy : Deendayal Research Institute, New Delhi; Dr. M.C. Sharma

**Sales Centres :** • Soochna Bhawan, C.G.O. Complex, Lodhi Road, New Delhi-110003 • Hall No. 196, Old Secretariat, **Delhi**-110054 • 701, B-Wing, Kendriya Sadan, Belapur, **Navi Mumbai**-400614 • 8, Esplanade East, **Kolkata**-700069 • 'A' Wing, Rajaji Bhawan, Besant Nagar, **Chennai**-600090 • Press Road, Near Govt. Press, **Thiruvananthapuram**-695001 • Block 4, 1st Floor, Gruhakalpa Complex, M.G. Road, Nampally **Hyderabad**-500001 • 1st Floor, 'F' Wing, Kendriya Sadan, Koramangala, **Bengaluru**-560034 • Bihar State Co-operative Bank Building, Ashoka Rajpath, **Patna**-800004 • Hall No.1, 2nd Floor, Kendriya Bhawan, Sector H, Aliganj, **Lucknow**-226024 • Ambica Complex, 1st Floor, Paldi, **Ahmedabad**-380007 • House No.7, New Colony, Cheni Kuthi, KKB Road **Guwahati**-781003.

---

Typesetter : Sun Graphics, Sadar Bazar, Delhi-110006

Printed at : Viba Press Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi-110020



## **ABOUT THE SERIES**

The objective of this series is to record, for the present and future generations, the story of the struggles and achievements of the eminent sons and daughters of India who have been instrumental in our national renaissance and attainment of independence. Except in a few cases, such authoritative biographies have not been available.

The series is planned as handy volumes written by knowledgeable people giving a brief account, in simple words, of the life, time and activities of these eminent leaders. They are not intended either to be comprehensive studies or to replace the more elaborate writings.





## CONTENTS

1.	Troubled childhood & Brilliant Student Life	1
2.	RSS Connection	10
3.	Author and Journalist	14
4.	Cultural Envoy in Politics	27
5.	Politics of Undivided Nationalism	37
6.	Pioneer of Democracy	62
7.	Thoughts on Economy	73
8.	His Vision of Integrated Humanism	108
9.	Jan Sangh General Secretary and President	126
10.	End of An Era	148





## Troubled Childhood & Brilliant Student Life

**D**eendayal Upadhyaya's childhood was spent in an ordinary North Indian lower middle class Hindu household that believed in Sanatan faith. His great-grandfather, a renowned astrologer, Pandit Hariram Upadhyaya, lived in Nagla Chandrabhan village in Mathura district. His younger brother was Shri Jhandu Ram. Pandit Hariram Upadhyaya had three sons - Bhudev, Ram Prasad and Ram Pyare; Jhandu Ram had two sons - Shankarlal and Banshilal.

Shri Bhagwati Prasad was the son of Shri Ram Prasad. He was married to Shrimati Rampyari, who was a religious-minded lady. Deendayal was born to them on Sept. 25, 1916 (Ashwin Krishna Trayodashi, Samvat 1973). His full name was Deendayal, but he was called Deena by the family. Two years later, Rampyari gave birth to her second son, Shivdayal alias Shibu.

### Joint Family System

The joint family system still continued in Pandit Hariram's family. It was, thus, a large family in which women generally bickered all the time over division of household work. Deendayal was about two-and-half when his father, Bhagwati Prasad, was Assistant Station Master at Jalesar. He called his aunt and stepmother to Jalesar to lessen the bickering among the womenfolk at home. Deena, Shibu and Rampyari were sent to the Dhankiya village in Rajasthan, where Rampyari's father, Chunnilal Shukla, was the Station Master. Chunnilal's village, i.e., Rampyari's maternal place and Deendayal's maternal grandfather's place, was Gud Ki Mandhai, near Fatehpur Sikri in Agra District.

Separated from his paternal roots at Mathura at the age of two-and-a-half, Deendayal never returned there. He was brought up and educated at his maternal grandfather's place under conditions of extreme suffering and deprivation - conditions that would cow down any ordinary mortal. But Deendayal drew strength from the negative forces and sufferings around him and developed a unique personality. His life was a reflection of his trials in early childhood; it typified how a person could rise above his circumstances through sheer grit and determination.

### **Face-to-Face with Death**

When a living human being faces death, he becomes disinterested in life. Deendayal Upadhyaya came across the deaths of his close ones right in the childhood. As stated earlier, he had come to live with his maternal grandfather at the age of two-and-a-half. Shortly thereafter, came the news that his father, Bhagwati Prasad had expired. He became fatherless and Rampyari a widow. Sitting in her lap, the child Deendayal keenly observed his widowed mother's tears and his maternal grand-father's helplessness at his young son-in-law's untimely death. His psyche must have been deeply affected by this tragedy. He spent his childhood, deprived of the love and care of his father, under the protection of his mother. But the widow Rampyari, worn out by her worries and sorrow, soon became a victim of the dreaded tuberculosis. At this time, tuberculosis meant sure death. Deendayal was just seven and his younger brother Shivdayal five, when Rampyari died, leaving the two orphans to the care of their grandfather. Deendayal was thus deprived of the love and affection of both his parents at an early age.

Destiny perhaps had in store more encounters with death for the young Deendayal. Two years after Rampyari's death, her father Chunnilal, who was bringing up her two sons as a legacy of his dead daughter, also passed away in September 1926. Deendayal was in his tenth year at that time. He started living with his maternal uncle. Deendayal's aunt was sensitive to the feelings of the two brothers; she brought them up like her own children. She became a



surrogate mother to the orphans. The ten-year-old Deendayal became a guardian for his younger brother at that tender age; he looked after him and took care of all his needs.

Deendayal was studying in the seventh class at Kota in Rajasthan in 1931 when he had to come to Rajgarh in Alwar district. His aunt had died. It was his fifteenth year when Deendayal witnessed the passing away of all those who had brought him up.

The responsibility of bringing up his younger brother Shivdayal now fell upon him. God had gifted him with a sensitive and caring nature; he was full of love and affection towards everyone. But that was obviously not the end of his travails. Death probably had another and a more severe blow in store for him. When he was in the ninth class and in his eighteenth year, his younger brother Shivdayal contracted smallpox. Deendayal tried his best to save Shivdayal's life by providing him all manners of treatment available at that time, but Shivdayal also died on Nov. 18, 1934. Deendayal was thus left all alone in this world.

Deendayal had still one wrinkled hand of protection and affection over his head. It was his old maternal grandmother, who loved this child very much. Although he could not spend much time with her owing to his preoccupation with studies and other family matters, Deendayal thought a world of his old grandmother. He had just passed his matriculation in 1935 and was nineteen when his grandmother fell ill during the winters and passed away.

Bereft of his parents, maternal grandparents, aunt and younger brother, Deendayal matured overnight. He was not cowed down by the constant visitations of death, but he became sober and meditative. His psyche was untrammelled by the repeated blows of death. He had a cousin, his aunt's daughter Ramadevi. A bond developed between the two and, over the years, it evolved into a lasting relationship of love and affection.

The young Deendayal was now studying for his M.A. in English Literature in Agra. His cousin fell ill. Deendayal left his studies and



devoted all his energies and resources to look after her. But he had to witness the death of his beloved sister also. Despite all his efforts, Ramadevi passed away in 1940. Deendayal was twenty-four at that time. He had encountered death at all stages in his life—infancy, childhood, adolescence and youth. Who knows what role Death played in his well-acclaimed stoic later life and guided him in later years?

### **Literally a Nomad**

Deendayal was a nomad in the true sense of the term. He lived in his father's house till the age of two-and-a-half; he was forced to leave his paternal home owing to family squabbles and live with his maternal grandfather, never returning to his paternal home. He lived with his maternal grandfather Chunnilal at Dhankiya, who was constantly in mourning because of the untimely demise of his two sons, Natthilal and Harinarayan and later his son-in-law, Bhagwati Prasad. Chunnilal retired from service and returned to his village, Gud Ki Mandhai. Deendayal also came with him to Gud Ki Mandhai from Dhankiya. He was nine years of age and still there were no arrangements to give him proper schooling. He, then, came to live with his maternal uncle, Radharaman, who was Assistant Station Master at Gangapur. He lived there for four years. There were no schools in Gangapur for further studies. Therefore, Deendayal was admitted to a school at Kota on June 12, 1929. He lived in a self-supporting house there for three years. Thereafter, he had to come to Rajgarh in Alwar district. Radharaman's cousin Narayan Shukla was Station Master there, and Deendayal lived with him for two years. Narayan Shukla was transferred to Sikar in 1934. Deendayal lived with him for a year and matriculated from that place. He then went to Pilani for intermediate for two years in 1936. The same year, he left for Kanpur to pursue his graduation. After two years, he went to Agra for his post-graduation. He lived in a rented house at Raja Mandi. When he was twenty-two, Deendayal left Agra to complete his B.Ed. at Prayag in 1941. He was twenty-five at that time. Simultaneously, he entered public life and became an eternal nomad.

By the time he was twenty-five, Deendayal Upadhyaya had stayed at least at 11 places in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan for short periods of time. The homestead, its conveniences and comforts generally generate a feeling of stability in most people. Deendayal's childhood and youth did not give him this opportunity or temptation to be permanently attached to one place. When he entered public life, the nomadic existence that he had become accustomed to, certainly helped him in identifying with the homeless and the underprivileged. New places, new people and his attempts to become one with them were gifts he acquired from his early childhood days.

### **Brilliant Student Days**

The circumstances were such that there were no proper arrangements for his regular schooling till Deendayal was nine years. He started his education in 1925 when he came to stay with his maternal uncle Radharaman at Gangapur. There was no other student in the house; conditions were thus not conducive to pursuing his studies at that place. The household was torn and tortured by untimely tragedies; the atmosphere was consistently full of tension. To top it, there were no facilities. Deendayal was a student of class two when his maternal uncle Radharaman fell seriously ill. Deendayal accompanied him to Agra for his care and treatment. Radharaman returned to Gangapur just a few days before Deendayal's exams. He, however, stood first in the class. He passed class three and four while looking after his uncle. It was at this time that the family and the school realised how brilliant and talented Deendayal was.

He studied at Kota for classes five to seven. He came to Rajgarh for class eight where his extraordinary talent in arithmetic was revealed. It is said that when Deendayal was in class nine, students of class ten would come to him for help in solving their problems. He had to shift to Sikar when his uncle was transferred there. It was from Sikar that Deendayal matriculated. He stood first in the board exam and the then ruler, Maharaja Kalyan Singh of Sikar, presented him with a gold medal, a monthly scholarship of Rs.10 and Rs.250 towards his books, as recognition of his merit.



Pilani was a famous centre for higher learning, in those days. Deendayal went to Pilani to study for his Intermediate. He not only topped the board exam in 1937, but also obtained distinction in all subjects. He was the first student of Birla College to have fared so well in the exam. Like the Maharaja of Sikar, Ghanshyamdas Birla too presented him with a gold medal, a monthly scholarship of Rs.10 and Rs.250 towards books, as recognition of his merit.

Deendayal graduated in first division from Sanatan Dharma College, Kanpur in 1939 and joined St. John's College, Agra for pursuing his master's degree in English Literature. In the first year, he obtained first division marks, but he could not appear in the final year exam on account of his cousin's illness. His maternal uncle persuaded him to sit for the Provincial Services Exam, which he passed and he was selected after interview. But he was not interested in administrative service. Deendayal, therefore, left for Prayag to do his B.T. His love for studies increased manifold after he entered public service. His special areas of interest were sociology and philosophy, seeds of which were sown during his student days.

### **Courageous, Service-Oriented and Honest**

When he was just seven or eight, dacoits raided his house. One of them pushed aside his aunt and demanded ornaments that were there in the house after felling down Deendayal and stomping upon his chest. Wriggling under the dacoit, Deendayal softly told him, "we had heard that dacoits rob only the rich and protect the poor. But you are hurting a poor creature like me." The leader of the gang was impressed with the child's fearlessness; he returned with his gang without robbing the house.

The circumstances in which Deendayal was brought up could have turned him either into a rebel out of frustration or an extremely disciplined and devoted person. He turned out to be the latter. When he was eleven in 1927, Deendayal's maternal uncle Radharaman



fell seriously ill. There were no arrangements to look after him there and he had to go to Agra for treatment. Deendayal accompanied him to Agra and looked after him. Deprived of the love and affection of his parents and grandparents and in the absence of any material acquisitions, Deendayal held a respected place in the household in which his devotion to service, humility and modesty played a significant part. While staying with his maternal uncle Narayan Shukla, in Rajgarh, Deendayal looked after his four children like a concerned elder brother and won their hearts with his affection and devotion. When he studied at Pilani, his maternal uncle Radharaman's son, Prabhudayal Shukla and his third maternal uncle Babulal's sons, Kameshwarnath and Rameshwaranath also received similar care and affection from Deendayal. He not only helped them in their studies, but also looked after all their needs.

He looked after his younger brother Shivdayal. He couldn't do it for long because of Shivdayal's untimely death, but Deendayal always remembered this younger brother whom he had looked after tirelessly till the end. Similarly in 1940 when his maternal cousin Ramadevi fell seriously ill, Deendayal not only left his post-graduate studies midway, he treated her with naturopathy when all the doctors and physicians had given up hope of her survival. But he could not save her life despite his best efforts.

He had impressed everyone with his scholarship at Rajgarh and Sikar, but this did not inflate Deendayal's ego. Instead, it generated an urge in him to help weaker students. He organised Zero Association in Pilani to help the students weak in studies.

His circumstances were not such that Deendayal could resort to any mischief. Nor was there anyone to indulge him in his mischief at any stage of his childhood and youth. He, nevertheless, had childlike innocence, simplicity and a dash of mischief in his nature. But once someone stopped him from doing anything, he never repeated the mistake. His maternal aunt and cousins cherished his younger days when Deendayal was a model child. During his student

days, Deendayal Upadhyaya lived in the company of Nanaji Deshmukh, who recounts an instance of Deendayal's inherent simplicity and honesty thus:

"One day, we had gone to buy vegetables from the market in the morning. We bought vegetables worth two paise. As we were about to reach back home, Deendayal suddenly stopped and said there was something seriously wrong. He had four paise in his pocket, one of which was counterfeit, and he had given that to the vegetable vendor. He had two genuine coins in his pocket. We must go back and give her the genuine coin.

"He had feelings of guilt on his face. We went back to the vegetable vendor and told her the truth. But she told us that she had no time to look for the counterfeit coin amid the heap of coins she had collected. She asked us to go back, but Deendayal searched and ultimately found his blackish counterfeit coin from among the change she had collected, took it back and gave the genuine coin to her. Only then was he satisfied. The old woman, the vegetable vendor, was touched. She blessed Deendayal."

### **RSS Contacts During Student Days**

When he was studying for his graduation at Kanpur in 1937, Deendayal came into contact with Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) through his classmate Baluji Mahashabde. He met the RSS founder, Dr. Hedgewar there. Hedgewar with Babasaheb Apte and Dadarao Parmarth used to stay in the hostel. Veer Savarkar was invited by Deendayal for an intellectual discussion at one of the shakhas. Sunder Singh Bhandari was also one of his classmates at Kanpur. This gave a fillip to his public life.

Deendayal was a student from 1937 to 1941 when he passed his B.T. from Prayag. But he did not enter a job, nor did he marry. He had attended the 40-day summer vacation RSS camp at Nagpur where he underwent training in Sangh Education (OTC) in 1939 and 1942.



Deendayal, however, could not withstand the physical rigour of the training, but he stood out in its educational segment. Babasaheb Apte writes in this connection: "Pandit Deendayal versified several parts of his answers. It was not merely versification, nor was it a flight of imagination. He simply adopted the medium of verse instead of prose in writing his answers. It was balanced and logical. I could not help being impressed by him."

After completing his education and second-year training in the RSS Education Wing, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya became a life longpracharak\*\* of the Sangh and he lived this life till the very end. He entered politics through the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, became the General Secretary of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, and later its President. His life was thus an embodiment of thorough political thought process.

---

\* A shakha is the functional branch of RSS

\*\* An unmarried and full time RSS worker



## RSS Connection

**I**t was a vital moment in India's struggle for freedom when Deendayal Upadhyaya came into contact with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The Congress came to power in the Provincial Assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh in 1937; it was the time when the Congress-Muslim League Pact was scrapped. A Muslim League leader, Khaliq Ajuma, was so cut up with the Congress that he said if the two parties couldn't rule together, they could not stay together also. The two-nation theory raised its head and the Muslims became aggressive in their support for a separate nation. The Muslim League passed a resolution for separate Pakistan at its Lahore session in 1940. This aggressive separatism hurt every Indian nationalist. Young Deendayal was also hurt by this slogan. The two communities, Hindus and Muslims, took to violence in support of their beliefs and such a situation could be remedied only by offering a united front in the interest of national integration. Deendayal wanted to face this onslaught of communalism through constructive work. He found an ideal working environment in the RSS. He came into contact with the RSS founder, Dr. Keshavrao Baliram Hedgewar. Babasaheb Apte and Dadarao Parmarth were his hostel mates. When the renowned freedom fighter, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar came to Kanpur, Deendayal Upadhyaya invited him to his RSS shakha for an intellectual interaction. Sunder Singh Bhandari was also his batch mate at Kanpur.

RSS was a disciplined organisation of dedicated youth. No one could become a volunteer without training, which lasted for three years. The training was organised for 40 days at Nagpur during the summer vacation; it was called Sangh Education Section. Deendayal trained there in 1939 for the first year and in 1942 for

the second year. The training confirmed his belief that merely abusing the British was not patriotism. Freedom was not mere sloganeering. Only an organised and trained society could lay claims to freedom.

After completing his second year of training, Deendayal Upadhyaya became an RSS pracharak. And he remained a pracharak throughout his life. From 1942 to 1951, he discharged the responsibilities and duties of a lifelong pracharak in Uttar Pradesh.

His family was disturbed when Deendayal took this decision. His maternal uncle was already annoyed with him because, after having passed the Provincial Services Exam, Deendayal refused to enter government service. Instead, he went for his B.T. training because he was interested in teaching as a profession. His family believed that, after giving up government service, Deendayal would at least adopt teaching as his profession. But they were disappointed when Deendayal became a lifelong RSS pracharak and decided to lead a life of celibacy. He was first appointed as a pracharak in Lakhimpur District in Uttar Pradesh. He did not return to his maternal uncle's house after his B.T. After the Muslim League passed its resolution for a separate Pakistan in 1940, the country was engulfed in communal violence and separatism. Deendayal felt a revulsion at the very idea. His maternal cousin, Banwarilal wrote to him, asking him to return home in view of his maternal uncle's illness. In reply, Deendayal wrote to him:

"I received your letter day before yesterday. Ever since then, I have been torn between my affection and duty. I am driven to you on account of my love and affection, but I am, at the same time, drawn to the voices of my ancestors.

"I have been assigned to work in a district to awaken the slumbering Hindu society and raise a volunteer corps. It won't be possible for me to stay at one place in the district for more than two to four days. Nor will I be allowed to take up a stable job. The society and the country are the first priority for an RSS worker. His individual duties come later. I have, therefore, decided to take up the task of service to my society and follow it."



In the same letter, Deendayal writes: "Maybe you are apprehensive because you do not know much about the Sangh. It is in no way associated with the Congress. Nor is it a part of any political organisation. It is not at all involved in politics. RSS does not resort to satyagraha, or going to jail. Its only aim is to bring together and organise all the Hindus."

"The cause of our downfall is lack of organisation. The other ills of society like illiteracy are merely symptomatic ... As far as name and fame is concerned, you very well know that slaves cannot aspire to any name and fame."

He also mentions his source of inspiration from the period of history he had studied:

"Ram went to exile in order to protect the society and faith in his times; Krishna underwent numerous sufferings; Rana Pratap moved about from one forest to another; Shivaji sacrificed his life; and Guru Gobind Singh's sons were buried alive in the fort walls. Can't we sacrifice our individual ambitions for the sake of such a society and faith?"

The second letter that he wrote to his brother was more emotional. It revealed his devotion and dedication to the RSS cause that was in conflict with his family responsibilities. But he did not raise any social or political issue in it.

Deendayal was an RSS pracharak from 1942 to 1945 in Lakhimpur district. He looked after RSS work in the district and later graduated to departmental responsibilities. His work style, integrity and intellectual prowess won him the position of Joint Pracharak for the entire province of Uttar Pradesh. Bhaurao Deoras was the pracharak of Uttar Pradesh in those days. Regarding his organisational abilities and contribution to the Sangh activities, Deoras writes:

"In the early days of your Sangh work, when your path was strewn with thorns, you (Deendayal) set out on this difficult task. No one was familiar with the Sangh activities in Uttar Pradesh at

that time. You took over the onerous responsibility on your shoulders as an ordinary swayamsevak (volunteer). You really laid the foundation of the Sangh work in Uttar Pradesh. Today, the RSS work in the province is a result of your hard work and sense of duty. Many of our volunteers have been inspired by the example set by you. You have been a constant source of inspiration to all of them. You are an ideal swayamsevak. We had heard of the ideal swayamsevak from our founder, you embody all these qualities in yourself. A brilliant intellect, an unequalled sense of duty, modesty and humility - you symbolise all of them in your person."

In its early days, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh flourished in the universities and other centres of learning in Uttar Pradesh. And Deendayal Upadhyaya was, in a large measure, responsible for this flowering of the RSS. When the RSS was banned after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Deendayal was the source of publishing its activities and organisation. While remaining underground, he brought out *Himalaya*. Thereafter, he brought out *Rashtrabhakt*. The constitution of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was written at that time. And Deendayal played a significant role in it.

One vital institution that goes into the making of an RSS worker is its Education Cell. It was while working in its various branches throughout the country that Deendayal Upadhyaya inculcated and developed a think-tank in the organisation, which continued till his entry into the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. A beginning was made in Uttar Pradesh in this direction through the efforts of Bhaurao Deoras, Deendayal Upadhyaya and Nanaji Deshmukh. Deendayal was highly popular among the Sangh workers because of his simplicity, affectionate nature and calm demeanour. His working style included keeping silent in the face of adversity. While working for the organisation, he brought out weekly and monthly journals for the propagation of its ideals. Generally, young students entered the RSS at that time. In order to motivate and inspire them, Deendayal wrote two important literary works, *Samrat Chandragupt* and *Jagadguru Shankaracharya*.



## Author and Journalist

**T**he RSS held a different viewpoint on nationalism and the national struggle for independence. It attracted a large number of adolescent and young students. It was in April 1946 that the UP pracharak Bhaurao said during a meeting that literature for children was not available in easy, lucid language and that it was urgently required for the young entrants. Deendayal heard him quietly. He kept writing throughout the night and the next morning, he handed over a manuscript to Bhaurao, saying, "Please see how this book will interest our young entrants." Everyone was wonderstruck because in one night, Deendayal had written a novel for children, which was published as *Samrat Chandragupt*.

The RSS did not agree with the kind of efforts that were being made to achieve India's independence. It felt that the national struggle lacked a sense of polity and direction as well as courage and boldness. In *Samrat Chandragupt*, Deendayal sought to unravel these qualities through the characters of Chandragupt and Chanakya by quoting instances of their bravery, fearlessness and political thinking. He sought to change the mindset of the youth through this novel and he can be said to have been successful in his efforts. He also gave vent to his own thoughts on nationalism in the Preface to this effortless narrative; it is not possible to put it down once one starts reading it. Intellectualism and philosophy have not made the book heavy or dull reading. It enthuses the readers through its thoughts, emotions, lucid style and narrative.

In Manogat (the Preface), Deendayal writes: "The readers of this book need not be told everything about the maze of historical facts. It would suffice for them to know that the events in this book

are true despite the concerted efforts of European scholars and their blind followers among the Indian historians, to distort them to serve their own purpose and vested interests."

*Samrat Chandragupt* has been written in a typical style so as to appeal to youngsters as a historical novel with its own distinct literary flavour. That Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote it in one sitting, is a testimony to his abundant literary and intellectual faculties. To create such a work without reference to any historical text, reveals his reading habit and sharp memory.

When *Samrat Chandragupt* lived up to its promise of appealing to the adolescents, there was demand that a similar book should be written for the youth. Deendayal Upadhyaya then came out with *Jagadguru Shankracharya*, his second novel. The personages and events in his second novel are ancient but they have been presented in the context of changed times and contemporary developments. Deendayal's objective was to inspire the youth to look back to the country's glorious past, take pride in it and dedicate their lives to the revival of that ancient glory.

He was troubled by the increasing materialism in the contemporary society where everyone wanted to earn wealth at the cost of socio-economic welfare. He also saw that the leftists and agnostics were exploiting this weakness in society to achieve their own nefarious ends and were turning the youth into social rebels. He described the neglect of the socio-economic aspect as a paradox. When Shankracharya, on seeing the economic plight of a poor household, went to his affluent neighbour seeking alms, "the wealthy person came out to offer him alms. But Shankaracharya withdrew his stretched hand and spoke to him sweetly, 'A person who doesn't understand and empathise with the plight of society, one who is indifferent to their sufferings and has no feelings for them, will his alms produce compassion in the receiver?'

"You have an extremely poor household in your neighbourhood while you are wallowing in wealth and comfort, calling yourself a social worker. Isn't it a paradox?"



The historical background to this novel were the times when those believing in Hinduism had become fundamentalist and ritualistic in the face of the spread of Buddhism. Shankaracharya opposed this fundamentalism and ritualism. According to the Vedas, human life is divided into four stages - Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vaanprasth and Sanyaas, the last stage meaning renunciation of this world. But Shankaracharya violated this "Ashram Vyavastha" assumed sanyaas when he was eight years of age, like the Buddhists. Deendayal has described the conversation between Shankaracharya and his mother Aryamba on this issue and portrayed the young sanyaasi's wanderings in the manner of a Sangh volunteer trying to seek the truth by spreading his message. His being bitten by a scorpion and obtaining his mother's permission for taking sanyaas are scenes that depict the trauma of an RSS worker while trying to convince his people of the path he has chosen for himself.

"Hindus had forgotten the ancient ideal of sanyaas for working for their country at the time. Not only that the Buddhists had given the place of pride in their thinking to sanyaas. That is why Shankaracharya's mother Aryamba did not want him to take sanyaas."

Sanyaas does not imply complete renunciation of this world. It is, in fact, a social means of serving the country. It might not have been a tradition in the scriptures, but a person becomes a RSS worker and devotes his life to social cause only after leaving the comforts of his household. Shankracharya was probably the first sanyaasi of Vedic religion. He said, "we are not slaves to these rules; we are the masters ... No, brother, I shall not retire to the forests. Sanyaas does not mean renouncing this world and going to meditate in the jungles. I have taken karmasanyaas, which does not mean giving up my karma. I have to work for the country and the religion. This is the eternal truth. These ideals do not tie down a person to the fruits of his karma."

"... Varnashram has inbuilt safeguards for social welfare. We are not slaves to these man-made rules; we are their masters."



Another important statement in this context is: " ... The system and its rules are not the ends, but the means. Means are important only as long as they help us attain our ends. We must not, therefore, follow the beaten track all the time."

Shankaracharya has also thrown light on the form sanyaas should take: "This sanyaas does not mean being aloof from people; it means adopting them. It does not mean renunciation, but compassion. Yes, this compassion does not lead to attachment or tie us down; it is not narrow or confined, it is vast; it is not weakness, but our strength. Sanyaas does not mean abdicating our responsibilities to society; it means fulfilling them with vigour and selflessly."

The above excerpt echoes the statement of Dr. Hedgewar regarding what Shri Golwalkar had said when the latter wanted to retire to the Himalayas for self-knowledge and meditation. Dr. Hedgewar asked whether his going away to the mountains, leaving millions of his followers to their own devices, was not an act of selfishness. Golwalkar gave up his idea of retiring to the Himalayas after this conversation with Dr. Hedgewar.

Deendayal has admirably portrayed the work of a social worker in the existing social environment and, at the same time, his book has the quality of being widely read and its values imbibed. It contains descriptions of the Indian Vedic traditions, customs, philosophy as well as Upanishadic tenets. He has challenged the prevalent thought of bypassing the existing social conditions as 'maya' (illusion) and challenges the religious faith thus:

"People who do not pay heed to their inner voice and are unable to hear the voice of God, can in no way listen to the silent thoughts of God. Those who cannot empathise with the weak and the tortured souls, have no hope of coming face to face with the one that is Omnipresent."

The process of training an RSS worker is laid great emphasis on. This is the working style of the RSS. In this context, regarding the education of Shankaracharya in the ashram, Deendayal writes:

"They did not wish to turn out Shankaracharya an unfinished and unripe product because they realised that a good social worker can take the society out of the mire of its ills and raise it to unprecedented heights. On the other hand, an immature and untrained worker would prove to be a stumbling block in the path of social upliftment and sooner or later sacrifice his ideals at the altar of selfishness, name and fame. Conceit can ordinarily lead to a person's downfall. A social worker's conceit and vanity can take the entire society down with him and vitiate the entire atmosphere. Those incharge of educating and training Shankaracharya knew that he was above such frailties of human mind, but still they kept him with them for four years, looked after his education and weeded out his shortcomings."

The time when this book was written was one during which there was controversy over the Sangh's cultural role. Deendayal Upadhyaya stressed that the cultural aspect of the RSS was a strong one. In his own words, "When Shankaracharya decided on knitting together the entire country in one cultural strand, there was no surprise that this would generate a set of bold and fearless youth that would work for the political integration of the entire nation. Without a cultural integration where all thought processes stem from one fountainhead, political integration cannot be long-lasting. Cultural integration lies at the basis of political integration. Once the former is achieved, there will be plenty of committed workers to bring about the latter. Separatism on the political front has no place in a single culture. It may inflict physical harm on the body politick, but it cannot destroy the soul of a nation."

Commitment to and faith in a single leader was the principle that ran through the working style of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Emphasis was laid on blind faith in the leader. Among Shankaracharya's disciples, there was one called Padmapad. He was called so because Shankaracharya once called him from across the river Ganga and Padmapad crossed the river barefoot, while running. Wherever his feet were placed on the river, lotuses grew



up there and he reached the master. Deendayal has described the episode thus:

"In the deep river waters, he saw lotuses blooming. He placed his feet on these flowers and comfortably crosses the river. That is why he was named Padmapad. He had blind faith in and respect for his leader. One who follows Padmapad in these qualities crosses all hurdles in his way; nothing can stop him. Nothing can drown one who has blind faith. The thorns in his path turn into flowers. Those who exaggerate their problems and turn molehills into mountains, obviously lack faith; they are suspicious of their leaders and the tasks assigned to them. They always keep looking at their own feet instead of looking up to their leader for motivation and inspiration."

Deendayal has given a vivid and impressive description regarding Shankaracharya countering the spread of Buddhism and propagating the Vedic religion. He has been able to create the right ambience of the times in a metaphorical manner: "Harmony spread all over the universe as if there was an echo of simplicity and peace all around. Clear thinking and clear speaking held sway. Harmony gave way to discord. Courage became the watchword and there was the spirit of bravery in the air. Charity became profligate. The invulnerable and the unknown became vulnerable and known."

The differences of opinion about the Vedic religion were more or less similar in Shankaracharya's and Deendayal's times. The several Hindu sects were at loggerheads with one another. Deendayal made Shankaracharya say: "Different gods and goddesses are a manifestation of the same God ... Where is the difference between the Ram who worshipped Shiva before crossing over to Ceylon to conquer it and the Shiva who drank poison while chanting Rama's name? Where lies the difference between the Shiva who roamed all over the country carrying the corpse of Sati on his shoulders and the Shiva who marries Girija in her next birth after she has gone through the rigours of tapasya and meditation? These are all one. One who is a Vaishanva is also a Shaiva; he is also Shakta".



Shankaracharya had a historic discussion on ancient scriptures with Mandan Mishra, a brilliant scholar and disciple of Kumaril Bhatt. Deendayal Upadhyaya lent it a sombre and contemporary conversation. When after his morning rituals Shankaracharya approached Mandan Mishra, the latter told him excitedly: "You talk a lot of Vedic religion, but in actual practice you follow Buddhism. Where is sanyaas in Vedic religion? And then, there is an obvious conflict between being a sanyaasi and a follower of the Vedic religion." Deendayal does not let Shankracharya involve himself in the differences between sanyaas and Vedic tenets. He makes him say: "Dear Mishra, you are well aware of the plight of the nation today. It is true that the Great Kumaril Bhatt has devoted his entire life to the service of Hinduism; every moment of his life has been spent in rejuvenating the religion and refuting what others had to say against Vedic faith, but Buddhism still flourishes in northern and western India; it is really a matter of concern for the entire nation. Come, let us put an end to these Buddhists who are breaking up this nation and work to spread Hinduism throughout the length and breadth of the country, thus fulfilling the incomplete work of the Great Bhatt."

Although women's entry into the RSS is not allowed, nor is there any provision for women taking to sanyaas in Vedic tenets, Deendayal Upadhyaya made Mandan Mishra's wife speak on the plight of women in Hindu society and advocate giving them their right to learn the scriptures. Ultimately, he made her take sanyaas. She argues her case thus: "what if I am a woman, acharya? Aren't women blessed with a faculty for thinking? Aren't their minds full of doubts and suspicious? They also have an intellect, a heart and, they are after all a part of this great nation. They also have a responsibility to the nation: it is their right to fulfil their responsibility in this regard ... And acharya, haven't women been involved in discussing the scriptures? Was Gargi not a woman? Her knowledge of the scriptures is legendary. Sulabha was also not a man. Janak and Yagyavalkya were not ordinary men, but great sages. If these sages could invite women to discuss the scriptures, why can't you

discuss them with me?" The then Vedic society had shrunk because of the rise of fundamentalism and rituals. Shankaracharya, in a way, adopted the argumentative skills of the Buddhists in order to re-establish Vedic system. That is why he has been accused of being a Buddhist sympathiser.

The methodology adopted by Shankaracharya to counter the Buddhist threat resembled to a large extent the methodology of the RSS and its thinking. In order to justify their appropriateness, Shankaracharya's comment on Kumaril Bhatt's statement could be quoted here: "The end justifies the means. Means have no independent existence from the ends they are set to achieve."

The Buddhist logic was spellbinding. Deendayal describes it thus: "Action does not lie in mere sermonising, but in truly inspiring and motivating one's emotions; it must appeal to the heart and not to the barren intellect. Mere words can only affect us for some time."

Shankaracharya is all along mild, soft-spoken but firm while countering the arguments of Buddhists. Probably this firmness was inspired by the compromising attitude of the Indian National Congress with regard to the Muslim League. The Congress wanted to grant a separate identity to Indian Muslims in order to appease them and Deendayal Upadhyaya was highly critical of this move. His thoughts are revealed in the following words of Shankaracharya:

"Lord Buddha was also my ancestor. . .I am not opposed to him, nor do I oppose his ethics and ideals. But think for a moment, you who are among the distinguished bhikshus. Are we following his ideals today? Do we heed to his clarion call today ... Don't we see the atrocities committed on us by the Shakas and the Huns with our own eyes?

"The Shakas and the Huns did not take to Buddhism because they loved it or Lord Buddha ... They made Buddhism a part of their politics. Once they accepted Buddhism you thought they had become your own ... Kanishka gave a fillip to Buddhism but, at the



same time, he throttled India's freedom. You saw only one aspect of the issue but, instead of looking at the other side, you helped it. .. The ruler has no religion, O Great among bhikshus!"

He negated the international look of Buddhism and its separateness from Hinduism thus:

"You are the children of the Aryans belonging to this sacred land of India. You follow our ancient customs and traditions; you are the sons of Ram and Krishna. That's why you are Hindus. You have seen and felt Lord Buddha in your soul. That's why you are Buddhists. You are a Vaishnav because Lord Buddha was an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. If you worship the Shiv of this nation, you will become a Shaiva."

Where Deendayal has achieved a blend of history and the contemporary, he has also given sufficient evidence of his literary skill. At places he has portrayed beautiful and effective scenes in which his power over words and his descriptive faculties are witnessed: "Acharya Shankar set out for Kashmir from Takshashila. Kashmir, the land of Maharshi Kashyap, was not only full of kumkum meadows but also was replete with poetry and art."

Similarly, as an evidence of his literary mastery, he has brought alive the various facets of nature in the following lines:

"Acharya Shankar kept on moving towards the temple While thinking of Sharda. Nature tried to distract him in all its finery and conquest; newly-blossomed flowers welcomed him and wanted to talk to him; buds made a crackling sound as if trying to whisper sweet nothings into his ears; it was as if they wanted to touch him; nymphs descended in all their beauty in order to see their own reflection in the lake; the spirits began singing sweetly in the voices of birds, but none of these could deter Acharya Shankar.

"When the early morning rays fell in all their golden glory on the snow-capped Himalayan peaks, Acharya Shankar's strong determination as well as the reflection of saffron plants shone brightly on those peaks. As dawn departed, she appeared to have put a



saffron mark on India's forehead. As Acharya Shankar moved forward, India's soul in all its spiritual, eternally divine and eternally physical manifestation was reflected in all its glory."

The objective of writing this novel was neither the urge to create literature nor to write history. Deendayal Upadhyaya wanted to make use of this literary genre in order to express his political-cultural views, and he has done so effectively.

*Samrat Chandragupt* and *Jagadguru Shankaracharya* were published in 1946 and 1947, respectively. They are the only literary pieces among Deendayal's writings. If he had chosen a literary career after the publication of these two novels, he would have doubtless emerged as a leading litterateur of the country in the course of time. But he did not pursue this vocation after 1947. His later writings are thought provoking; he has written on the economic, social, cultural and philosophical aspects. His essays and speeches on these issues have been compiled, but they do not have the literary merit of the two earlier creations of his.

While working as a RSS pracharak, Deendayal looked after many of the organisation's magazines. It was through his inspiration as well as efforts that the monthly '*Rashtradharma*' and the weekly '*Panchajanya*' were started in 1945. Later, the daily '*Swadesh*' was also brought out. Deendayal was not only the editor, he was also the compositor, the machineman and several other things; he donned several hats while bringing out these journals.

Deendayal was, in effect, the brain behind the editorial policy as well as subject matter for these publications. Besides, he gave expression to his social, cultural and political thoughts in these publications. During his times, the primary source of RSS thought process were '*Panchajanya*' and '*Rashtradharma*' volumes.

Deendayal's historical perspective, his cultural views and political direction underlies all these publications. Deendayal was rousing the feeling of nationalism among Indians through the Rashtriya Swavamsevak Sangh all the time. But the British

imperialists had another plan up their sleeves. They turned the freedom struggle into a lust for power among the nationalists. They laid down implementation of the two-nation theory and division of the sub-continent as a precondition for their leaving the country. The Indian leadership could not counter this move and, as a result, the British partitioned this great nation before leaving it. The period of Partition was marked by large scale violence and bloodshed. The entire country was divided into two groups - those who believed in it as one nation and those who propagated the two-nation theory. It was during this violent phase that Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated.

Deendayal was grievously hurt by the partition of India. He opposed it boldly. According to him, "An undivided India is not only a symbol of the geographical oneness, but it manifests the oneness of Indian life. It symbolises unity in diversity. Therefore, an undivided India is just not a political slogan for us ... it is the very basis of our life."

In order to examine the historical, geographic and cultural background of an undivided India, Deendayal wrote a booklet, 'why Akhand (undivided) India? He put the entire issue in the perspective of ancient Indian literature and culture that helped it evolve as a single nation. The booklet is full of facts and, at the same time, expressive: " ... While our leaders were adorning their foreheads with tilaks in Delhi, the *sindoor* of our sisters and mothers was being wiped off their foreheads. After shouting 'Vande Mataram', we have amputated the hands of our mother which could bless us .. Independence was announced by unfurling the tricolour from the ramparts of Red Fort, but Ravi, at whose banks we had adopted a resolution of complete Independence, had been snatched away from us."

In his booklet, Upadhyaya has blamed the two-nation theory, the British divide-and-rule policy, Muslim separatism and the distorted Congress view of nationalism and its gratification for dividing India. He has quoted in detail Sir Syed Ahmed's speech of December 20,



1887, in which he had advised the Muslims to stay away from the Congress and the Hindus. This was the first expression of Muslim separatism that found its expression later in Aligarh Muslim University, Muslim League and ultimately the demand for Pakistan.

Deendayal strongly feels that it was the Congress attitude towards a mixed Hindu-Muslim culture and a compound culture that gave birth to the two-nation theory, and the Congress continued to cater to Muslim interests that gave birth to the two-nation theory: "By calling the Khilafat Movement a nationalist movement, we not only put a blot on our nationalism, we also generated a feeling in the Muslims that they need not give up following the external forces for continuing to remain Indian nationals. If we protested, they would threaten to set up a nation of their own. Consequently, Maulana Mohammed Ali, President of the Kakinada session of the Congress in 1923, opposed the singing of 'Vande Mataram' at the session."

This attitude of the Congress put it behind the separatist Muslim leadership. Although the Muslim League did not achieve much success in the 1935-36 elections, they made full use of the Congress policy of appeasement for strengthening their organisation. Before he entered into an agreement with the congress, Jinnah proposed a 14-point plan and later a 21-point plan, but no compromise could be achieved because he did not wish to arrive at a compromise. When the Congress Governments in the provinces resigned, the Muslims celebrated it as Liberation Day and announced the creation of Pakistan at Lahore as their sole objective.

Deendayal Upadhyaya did not subscribe to the view that India's independence would not have been achieved had we not accepted the proposal for Partition that would lead to bloodshed and violence. He believed that if the Congress leaders had stood their ground and helped the awakening among the rank and file of Indians, the British could have been forced to leave behind an undivided India by handing over power to the Congress. Regarding bloodshed and violence, he said: "Such a largescale massacre as was witnessed during the partition of India was unprecedented; it was not there even during



the first two World Wars. The animal instincts of man came to the fore in looting, abducting and killing. This was also not witnessed during the Wars."

Partition did not solve any of the country's problems; in fact, our problems multiplied and became more complicated. India's constant disputes with Pakistan have taken their toll on minimising the country's global importance and image. The Hindu-Muslim problem remains what it was. The various political parties have adopted the mixed culture and heritage as the basis of their operations and separatism and secessionism are on the rise, thus providing a justification for the creation of Pakistan. As a resolution to the problem, Upadhyaya says towards the end of this booklet. "In reality, war is not the means to bring about an undivided India. War can only bring about geographic oneness, not national integration. Oneness is not geographic, but a national ideal. The country was divided because we accepted and compromised on the two-nation theory. We have to work for an undivided India through our thoughts, deeds and actions. Those Muslims who are backward as compared to our national parameters will associate themselves with us if we give up this policy of compromise and appeasement. But it seems impossible in today's context. May be it will become possible after some time, but it is imperative that we must always be guided by this ideal of an undivided India."

He expresses this view of not compromising with the ideal of a single nationhood elsewhere thus: "If we want unity, we must adopt the yardstick of Indian nationalism, which is Hindu nationalism, and Indian culture, which is Hindu culture. Let us allow all other streams to merge with this mainstream Bhagirathi. Yamuna will merge with it. So will Ganga, shedding all its pollution. And one continuous Bhagirathi will flow throughout India."

'Why undivided India?' was written at a time when Deendayal Upadhyaya himself was working to enter politics through his RSS work. His writing continued throughout. We shall take up his literary writings in proper context in later chapters.

## Cultural Envoy In Politics

**T**he Indian polity moved in the direction of democracy after the British left India. Mahatma Gandhi believed that different political groupings should form their own organisations depending upon their leanings. The Congress was a shared platform during India's struggle for independence. It should, therefore, be disbanded instead of working as a political party. But this did not happen. Consequently, the Socialists left the Congress first. People like Sardar Patel and Purshottam Das Tandon wanted the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh to work with the Congress. In this connection, Patel even wrote a letter to the then Sarsanghachalak Shri Madhavrao Sadashivrao Golwalkar. Purshottam Das Tandon was elected Congress President in 1950. A resolution was then passed to facilitate the entry of RSS workers into the Congress Working Committee. This led to internal strife in the Congress and the resolution was nullified because it lacked clarity. Finally, Tandon had to resign as Congress President. The same year, Sardar Patel died. Now the doors for RSS entry to the Congress were closed and the RSS was denied an opportunity to take up the task of nation-building in a democratic India. This eventually led to the formation of Bharatiya Jan Sangh. In this context, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote in *Organiser*: "Shri Tandon was definitely the last of the thinking leaders in the Congress. He represented the 'Indian' suffix of the National Congress. But he was ineffective in Nehru's presence and had to resign as Congress President. Thereafter, in terms of thinking, the Congress started distancing itself from nationalist feelings and sentiments. If Tandon had continued to be the Congress President and the Congress had accepted his way of thinking, probably Bharatiya Jan Sangh would not have come into existence."



Mahatma Gandhi was right in saying that different political formations should come up on the basis of their thinking. It was on this question that the socialists left the Congress. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee was the first Industry Minister in free India's Cabinet. The Nehru-Liaquat Pact was signed in 1950. Mukherjee was against it and resigned from the Cabinet.

Bharatiya Jan Sangh was established on October 21, 1951, when he was President. Before that, Dr. Mukherjee had met the RSS Sarsanghachalak M.S. Golwalkar. Both of them agreed on the concept of nationalism. In one of his articles, Golwalkar writes: "When an agreement was reached, I chose my tried and tested associates who were selfless and strong-willed and those who could shoulder the burden of a new party ... It was in this manner that Dr. Mukherjee could realise his ideal of founding the Bharatiya Jan Sangh."

He also wrote: "Both of us (Dr. Mukherjee and Golwalkar) did not make any move without consulting each other in respect of our organisations and their work areas. While doing this, we also took care that we did not interfere in each other's domain or that there was no conflict between the objectives of the two organisations. Nor should one be seen as overtaking the other."

Among the selfless and dedicated associates who were entrusted with the work of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh the most important was Deendayal Upadhyaya. The first session of Bharatiya Jan Sangh was organised at Kanpur from December 29 to 31, 1952. Deendayal was elected the General Secretary of this new political party and this was the start of his political career. He expressed his intellectual capability during the session at which 15 resolutions were passed. Of these, Deendayal alone presented seven. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee had not known Upadhyaya earlier, but he was impressed with Deendayal's organisational skills, work culture and intellect at Kanpur. It was on this basis that he said, "If I get two Deendayals, I can change the contours of Indian politics."

Deendayal Upadhyaya had no personal life. He was a dedicated worker of the RSS. He accepted the Bharatiya Jan Sangh position as a means of furthering the RSS objectives and ideals. He had, therefore, no life apart from RSS-BJS. For seventeen years, he was the General Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh and its organiser and thinker.

Every political party aspires to power; it is its responsibility as well. But there is a basic difference between the race for power and desire for shaping the destiny of the society and the country in accordance with one's thoughts. In this context, he says: "Bharatiya Jan Sangh is a different party. It is not a grouping of people who merely seek political power ... It is not a political party but a movement. It is the fountainhead of nationalism. It is the epitome of our desire to achieve nationalism."

That is why no one who aspired for political power was fit to lead the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. After Dr. Mukherjee's death, many established national leaders came up for its presidentship. Deendayal Upadhyaya said: "Because many people are unable to understand our idealism and our blind faith in its strength, there is widespread speculation about our future. Many names are being thrown up, most of whom are not even members of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh ... No one should be under the illusion that we would go about looking for a leader to head the organisation. Wherever we spot him, we will anoint him. For us, the leader is not a separate entity; he is an integral part of the organisation. We do not believe that leaders belong to a different breed. We also do not subscribe to the view that since Hindu Mahasabha has a galaxy of leaders and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh none, the two organisations should merge."

The issue of merger of Hindu Mahasabha, Ramrajya Parishad and Jan Sangh was discussed for a whole year, but no consensus could be reached on the issue. The Mahasabha and the Parishad realised the strength of BJS, but they were scared of its dedicated and young leaders and their devotion to Golwalkar. They themselves were ambitious; they were not prepared to take a second place.



The Mahasabha leader Savarkar and the Parishad leader Swami Karpatri thought a world of themselves and their abilities. The merger was, therefore, not possible. Although Deendayal Upadhyaya did not measure up to their stature in politics and age, he was self-confident; his thoughts on the objective of BJS were very clear. He looked a simpleton, but he was not.

In this context, one must quote the then Central Defence Minister Yashwantrao Chavan: "People say, he was simple and innocent. But I do not believe it. Anyone can deceive a simpleton, but it was not easy to deceive. He could not be manipulated by sweet talk. He was simple, but he could say what he wanted in a modest manner and with clarity. He did not mince words."

Keeping in view that Golwakar and Mukherjee had clearly charted out the path for Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Deendayal Upadhyaya took over the reins of the party from its first session at Kanpur. He also piloted the Cultural Regeneration Resolution at this session. He denied the existence of geographic and regional nationalism: "Jan Sangh believes that, after viewing the history of India and other nations, geographic oneness is not enough for generating the feelings of nationalism. The citizens of a country become a single nation only when they are knitted together into a single cultural strand. As long as India followed this belief, it was one in spite of there being several states and regions. Our foreign rulers destroyed this inherent feeling of oneness. This has given birth to pro-foreign cultures. For centuries, in spite of people of Muslim faith living here, the two-nation theory could not take birth. But now it has partitioned the country, making it difficult for non-Muslims to live in Pakistan. On the other hand, there is appeasement of Muslims and their culture in India which leads to the further nurturing the two-nation theory. It is an obstacle to nation-building. Therefore, it is imperative that a single nationalist culture be developed throughout India for the evolution and development of nationalism."

In the same resolution, without naming any community, he gave a call for the Indianisation of society: " ... The Hindu society

owes it to the nation to take up the task of nationalism that has been vitiated and destroyed by our foreign rulers as well as vested interests. The Hindu society must adopt its various segments and accept them back into its fold. That is the only way to put an end to communalism and progress on the path to oneness and integration."

This is the resolution that separates Bharatiya Jan Sangh from the rest of the political parties. The Congress, the Socialists, the Communists are all inspired by alien thinkers and believe in the blending of different cultures in Indian society; they all advocate regional nationalism and believe in nationhood on the basis of geography and politics. They support and advocate the appeasement of Muslims on the basis of their minority character and separate culture. On the other hand, Hindu Mahasabha does not accept Muslims as part of the Indian mainstream. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee resigned from the Hindu Mahasabha on this issue and opened the door for all communities in the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Upadhyaya used the words 'different parts of the same body' for Muslims and Christians and accepted them as integral part of the Indian nationalism. He also accepted the fact that the Hindus were to blame for alienating the Muslims, and agreed that this should now be rectified. In other words, they should adopt an approach of compassion and oneness. That is the only way to resolve their problems. He believed that the attempts of the Muslims and the Christians to adopt a separate culture and work for its protection and the minority-majority equation was detrimental to the spirit of Indian nationalism. After going through the manifestoes of all political parties, Deendayal commented upon them thus: "... Congress, Praja Socialist; Swatantra Party and the Communists all believe that justice is not being done to the minorities in this country: .. Bharatiya Jan Sangh does not subscribe to such nomenclatures as minority and majority communities; it is not proper. Nor does the BJS accept the inevitability of India's partition. It considers that India is undivided, indivisible and one nation. The entire Indian culture is one and we strongly believe in this. Jan Sangh does not accept the division of people on the basis of religion and faith. Knowing fully that certain



sections of our society have been alienated from the mainstream and some of them have become anti-national, Jan Sangh believes in setting things right. It is not at all prepared to support separatism ... According to us, the entire nation is one single entity." The belief in a single national culture marks the originality in the approach of Jan Sangh. That is why concepts of a Welfare State and Secularism do not inspire the Jan Sangh politics. Maybe it is the basis of polity in other nations. Deendayal Upadhyaya says: "Jan Sangh is basically culture-oriented. Culture is the very basis on which our economic, political and social thought rests."

Bharatiya Jan Sangh's biographer, the renowned author Craig Baxter has aptly written: "Bharatiya Jan Sangh was the only party to register an increase in popular vote in both central and state legislatures from the 1952 to 1967 general elections."

Deendayal gave a shape to Bharatiya Jan Sangh, he developed it and lent it a separate identity, but he was not a political leader in the conventional sense of the term. One important event must be mentioned here. The Rajasthan summer camp of the RSS Education cell was being organised in Udaipur in 1964. Deendayal said this amidst his intellectual circles: "A swayamsevak should keep away from politics, like me." It sounded like a puzzle. At the question-answer session the same night, he was to clarify this statement. He was the General Secretary of a political party. How could he keep away from politics. Deendayal replied, "I am not in politics, but I am a cultural envoy of nationalism in politics. It would be better if there were no politics, and only culture." He, therefore, urged everyone to develop the Bharatiya Jan Sangh as a cultural organisation alone.

He was steeped in culture, which one could see in whatever he did in day-to-day life. He had not entered politics to fight elections, but he was forced to contest elections. The role he played during the elections bears testimony to his being a cultural envoy and not a politician.

Three important by-elections were held in Uttar Pradesh after the 1962 Chinese aggression; one was held in Gujarat. Acharya

Kripalani contested from Amroha, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia from Farrukhabad and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya from Jaunpur, The Swatantra Party General Secretary Minoo Masani was the combined opposition candidate from Rajkot in Gujarat. The Congress China policy, Nehru's leadership, the Gold Control Act, Compulsory Saving Scheme and Emergency had been imposed on the country and these by-elections were seen as the people's verdict on all these. All the four contestants had thus assumed importance in this context. While Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Lohia and Minoo Masani won the by-elections, Deendayal lost.

There were many reasons for the Jan Sangh defeat. But the overall atmosphere the by-elections had created, proved to be the biggest gain for Bharatiya Jan Sangh even though its General Secretary had lost the by-elections. Apart from other reasons of his defeat, it was a fact that Deendayal was not in favour of contesting the election. Nor did his mentor and guide Golwalkar want him to jump into the political fray. In this context, Golwalkar said, "It will be a loss either way, whether he wins or loses." The Jan Sangh workers and the then RSS pracharak Bhaurao Deoras had planned for Deendayal's contest.

Deendayal possessed the expected image of a hero to become a public leader, but he did not wish to encourage any hero-worship. Although he had lost the by-election, the people of Jaunpur remembered him and his campaign. He had given it a new turn through his idealism and general behaviour. Traditionally, Jaunpur has been a vote bank for Rajput and Brahmin castes. The Congress resorted to Rajput sentiment, which could be countered only through encouraging the Brahmin sentiment there. When the local electorate pressed upon Deendayal to contest the election on the basis of his Brahminism, he protested: "If you resort to such means, I shall withdraw my candidature." He would address the political and economic issues in his speeches. He sought votes on the basis of the aims and objects of Jan Sangh and urged his workers to make use of the occasion to spread the Jan Sangh views. One of his workers who was with him, writes thus on the election campaign:



"I was constantly with him during the Jaunpur by-election ... He did not even once discuss the issue of victory or defeat in the elections. He would tour his constituency according to a pre-scheduled plan.

"He said the winner must first be congratulated on my behalf. I will write it out and you send it through someone." When I expressed surprise, he replied, "It is part of our tradition that the first person to congratulate the winner must be his opponent. Otherwise, what is the use of entering politics? We must follow this healthy tradition in politics." People were amazed to discover that on the night the results were declared, Deendayal was organising a public meeting to thank his supporters and extend his support to the winner in working for the public good.

He was the General Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh. His party stood in opposition to Jawaharlal Nehru's Congress. Deendayal was moulding and sculpting a strong pillar of opposition in Indian democracy. Jawaharlal Nehru's attitude towards Jan Sangh and RSS was also bitter. But the way Deendayal Upadhyaya behaved towards Nehru on many occasions was a testimony of his being a cultural ambassador, and not a political adversary.

While Nehru spoke of national pride, Deendayal was strong in expressing his views in safeguarding it. When Nehru was humiliated in 1962 in the wake of the Chinese Aggression by the Beijing Radio and the Communists in general, Deendayal gave a soul-stirring and emotional statement defending Nehru:

"We must spread out to the villages and generate a feeling of hope and faith in society and subvert the attempt of anti-nationalists to project Nehru as another Chiang Kai-shek. We must also determine that this unfortunate episode is not repeated on the soil of India. We have the ideal of Panna Dai before us. In order to save Udai Singh, she sacrificed her own son. This legacy to us of this nation's pride, its indivisibility and its culture should not be lost sight of and we should be prepared to make any sacrifice for it."

When Nehru visited East European countries, which were still under the Iron Curtain, Deendayal Upadhyaya felicitated him thus:

" ... He (Nehru) carried India's message to Russia and other parts of Eastern Europe where for the last thirty-five years, leave alone a foreigner, even a bird could not enter. We should laud Nehru for flying India's flag high there. It is a matter of pride for all of us."

The country was in turmoil during the 1956 reorganisation of states. Nehru had to leave on a foreign tour. It was feared that his foreign visit would inflame passions back home. It was at that time that Upadhyaya offered his own and his party's complete support to Nehru:

"Whatever differences we might have with Pandit Nehru and in whichever way we' might oppose his policies ... I assure my Prime Minister that, while he is away on his foreign tour, the good wishes of Bharatiya Jan Sangh and its unqualified support is with him."

People found this attitude of being a cultural envoy in Deendayal strange. People aspiring to political power did not quite understand his viewpoint. They thought that the Bharatiya Jan Sangh lacked motivation for acquiring political power in the presence of Deendayal Upadhyaya. One of his admirers and the then editor of Maharashtra Times. D.V.Gokhale, expressed his views in this manner: "A politician should have the quality of offering practical solutions to the existing problems and obtain adequate benefits from it. Deendayal was not a politician in this sense. He lacked the desire to mould political happenings to his benefit and become an arbiter. He was, therefore, not very effective in the existing political scenario. His strength lay in his organisational skill and intellectual thought, not in political acumen."

Similarly, a seasoned Jan Sangh worker and former MLC from Maharashtra, G.B. Kanitkar has this to say about him: "Deendayal was more of an educationist than a political leader. Under his



leadership, mass movements on political issues for the mobilisation of people were not common. He preferred such issues as national integrity, security, culture and their interpretation instead of tackling day-to-day problems. He could not, therefore, connect himself much with the problems of the people in practical politics. He believed that we must strengthen our cultural and thought base; we should generate awareness among people and work for their overall development."

It was this role of a cultural envoy that led to his being regarded as the Ajaatshatru of Indian politics. As the leader of opposition in a democratic setup, he believed in constructive opposition. M.S. Golwalkar writes thus about his selfless and devoted political career:

"Pandit Deendayal was an important figure in the opposition. It was his duty to express his opinion in clear words on anything gone wrong, on any political imbroglio. He did that, but when we look at his articles we find that there was no bitterness in his heart. His words were soft and appealing. I was closely associated with him. He never lost his temper on anyone. Even if the other party was completely in the wrong, he never used a harsh word in criticism or condemnation. He was like Yuddhishtira. Since the name Duryodhan had the suffix of 'Dur', i.e. evil, he called him Suyodhan. Deendayal followed this practice. He was devoid of any bitterness in word, action and thought."

Deendayal Upadhyaya was desirous of not political power, but of converting Indian politics and democracy into something that emanated from the country's timeless culture. His lifelong ambition is reflected in his entire political career and behaviour.

## **The Politics of Undivided Nationalism**

**T**he concept of an undivided India that formed the basis of the creation of Bharatiya Jan Sangh made the organisation raise its voice against Pakistan and in favour of undivided nationalism. The party has done more than any other political group to make an emotional appeal for solving provincial, casteist and linguistic problems, opposing them at every step. The initiator of this basic tenet of Bharatiya Jan Sangh was Deendayal Upadhyaya. It was he who evolved a political party that turned the issues of national integration and security as its planks and rose above communal and materialistic forces. Its cadres were prepared to sacrifice their lives at the altars of national integration and security whenever such a need arose.

### **Kashmir Agitation**

BJS's Kashmir agitation adopted a three-pronged approach:

- (i) There won't be two Constitutions in one country.
- (ii) There won't be two Heads of Government in one country.
- (iii) There won't be two separate emblems in one country.

The Agitation was spearheaded by the Praja Parishad of Jammu. Dr. Mukherjee entered Kashmir without obtaining an entry permit; he organised a Satyagraha for complete integration of the state with the rest of the country and sacrificed his life for this idea. Upadhyaya took upon himself the task of enlisting volunteers for the Kashmir agitation from all over the country; he played an effective role in organising the agitation there. In order to express his views



on this episode, Upadhyaya brought out a special Kashmir issue of Panchajanya in which he wrote a long article on the problem. He castigated the centre for adopting a lenient attitude towards Pak infiltrators into the valley, taking the matter to the United Nations, talking of plebiscite to merge it with the rest of India and giving the state a special status under Article 370 of the Constitution. He touched upon all these aspects in detail and called them impractical and against all canons of political thought. He wrote:

"Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession for making the state an integral part of India. Jammu & Kashmir, therefore, became a part of the country and any aggression on the state was an aggression on India ... Our fault was that we considered the aggression by Pakistan as an attack on Kashmir, and not on India. "In order to prove the natural affinity of Kashmir with the rest of India, he has described the culture and history of the state in an enchanting manner. Why is Pakistan laying a claim on Kashmir and why should India accept the claim? He argues the case thus:

"The founders of Pakistan have based their premise on Islamic nationhood and that is why because of Kashmir's majority Muslim population, they claim a right to it. The day they give up this basic premise, the rationale of their two-nation theory will fall apart ... But India does not subscribe to this two-nation theory and never has subscribed to it in the past. If India's partition was based on the two-nation theory, there would be no place for Muslims in the country ... We shall be dealing a blow to our nationhood if we accept Pakistan's claims over Kashmir ... We were wrong in accepting plebiscite in principle to elicit the views of the population there. Unfortunately, Pakistan is still sticking to the same stand."

India has adopted a federal constitution, granting certain autonomy to its various units. Upadhyaya believed that granting autonomy to Kashmir points to separatism; it is not autonomy. The proposed constitution of Kashmir is against the sovereignty and integrity of India and, in this context, Upadhyaya has analysed the

article clause by clause. At the end of his article, he writes: "Kashmir has today become a touchstone of India's secularism, the faith of the National Conference in Indian nationhood and a test case for the just attitude of the United Nations."

India has not been meted out justice at the United Nations so far. Owing to his anti-war stand, Jawaharlal Nehru also did not try to get back the occupied territory in the state, called 'Azad Kashmir' after the Pakistani invasion of 1947. That was the reason why India could not arrive at a solution of the problem with Pakistan on the basis of the ceasefire line. When Nehru informed the country of this, Upadhyaya, in his capacity as the General Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, reacted to it strongly:

"The Prime Minister's revelation that he had proposed to accept the division of Jammu & Kashmir on the basis of the existing ceasefire line has pained me. This proposal is not only devoid of patriotism but is also against political expediency."

Another incident must be mentioned in this context. Bharatiya Jan Sangh had emerged as an anti-Left party. Therefore, the self-styled liberal Swatantra Party desired its merger with it. Many people in the Jan Sangh were in favour of this move and talks took place in this regard. There were also several electoral understandings on this issue. The then General Secretary of Swatantra Party, Minoo Masani issued a statement that his party did not agree with the Kashmir policy of Bharatiya Jan Sangh. He opined that we must talk to Pakistan on this issue: he also favoured UN mediation to resolve the tangle. Deendayal Upadhyaya did not agree with Masani. He broke the Jan Sangh-Swatantra Party alliance and said:

"I thank Masani for putting his thoughts in such clear words. After such an announcement by him, we do not wish to enter into any electoral alliance with his party. Their viewpoint on Kashmir has disturbed us ... It is natural for the Jan Sangh not to compromise with any stand that advocates that we should hand over a part of our territory to the aggressor. .. We do not need any sermonising



from Masani regarding our policies. We revere the sovereignty and integrity of the nation and we are prepared to do everything in order to safeguard it at all costs."

## **Goa Liberation Movement**

It is surprising that the Indian Government, which opposed imperialism and colonisation in any part of the world had to be pressurised to free its territory from Portuguese colonialism in Goa, Daman & Diu as well as French possessions in Pondicherry. In 1952 at the inaugural session at Kanpur, Deendayal Upadhyaya moved a resolution for getting these Indian territories vacated from the colonial powers. In order to put further pressure on Nehru and bring about mass awakening on the issue, Integration Day was organised on May 2, 1954 throughout the country. In this connection, Upadhyaya issued a statement from Indore which said:

"We have initiated a peaceful movement for liberating the French possessions from the Indian soil... The Government of India should give up its wait-and-watch attitude and take strong measures to end the atrocities and oppression in these territories. Police Action is required immediately in this regard."

Bharatiya Jan Sangh organised a Goa Liberation week from December 9 to 16, 1954. Its central working committee raised the demand for liberation of Goa on April 15, 1955. Mass awareness was generated throughout India by Jan Sangh to liberate Goa from the Portuguese Government headed by Salazar. On the death anniversary of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee (June 21, 1955), it was decided to go to Goa and offer satyagraha there. Accordingly, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh Secretary Jagannathrao Joshi led a batch of 100 satyagrahis into Goa. Other parties, particularly the Socialist Party, also participated in this satyagraha. Through his 'vicharvithi' column in Panchjanya, Upadhyaya wrote an article, titled 'Goa Satyagraha and Congress':

"The movement for the liberation of Goa is gaining strength. All the political parties in India are sending volunteers to offer

satyagraha there ... The Congress has just decided to stay away from this movement. Not only this, the Congress has, on its part, banned participation in the satyagraha there ... The basis of this move is to consider the Goans as separate from other Indian citizens ... This is an all-India movement... The Congress' viewpoint is that this movement for the liberation of Goa is at the same level as the ones being carried out in Algeria and Tunisia to which it has already lent its principled support and kept quiet thereafter. In reality, the liberation of Goa is essential to complete India's independence."

The Asian Nations' Conference was held in Bandung at that time. The Congress sought the support of the Asian nations for the liberation movement in Goa whereas Upadhyaya had requested Nehru to raise the question of Goa's liberation at Bandung. Nehru rejected the request. It was a paradox that Nehru, as a representative of India and as its Prime Minister, did not wish to raise the issue at Bandung, but the Congress, as a political party, had passed a resolution urging the nations at the Bandung Conference to support the move. Deendayal has written: "All-India Congress Committee should have had the courage to take the Prime Minister to task on this issue for ignoring its resolution."

The United States and Britain again supported Portugal against the Goa Liberation Movement, but their attitude changed in the face of nationwide stir. Deendayal Upadhyaya has assessed the international situation thus:

" ... There was response to the movement in Britain. The world's attention was drawn to Goa. The British and American newspapers tried to blame the atrocities committed on the people in Goa, on India's attitude.

" . . . Some members of the British Cabinet felt that the issue of Goa's liberation should not be long-drawn. Some of them felt that India was losing friends in the democratic world because of the Portuguese occupation of Goa. This would benefit no other country but Russia. At the same time, if the movement for Goa's



liberation gained further momentum, there would be similar agitations in Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar, and Britain would be forced to abandon its possessions there."

In this way, Deendayal Upadhyaya and Bharatiya Jan Sangh's satyagraha played an active role in Goa's liberation and in forcing the Government of India to resort to police action there. They were thus able to finish off these last vestiges of colonialism from the Indian soil.

### **Mass Movement against the Transfer of Berubari**

Under the terms of the Nehru-Noon Pact between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, India agreed to transfer the Berubari Union Territory to Pakistan while demarcating India's borders in West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. Jan Sangh's comments on this issue as well as its background are significant:

"In 1958, Pakistani troops kept on firing at the border outposts of Tripura and the Coochbihar district in Assam for several months. It occupied Takergram in Assam and villages in the Lakhimpur district of Tripura .... A meeting at the secretary-level was held in Karachi on the issue, but it was unsuccessful. Afterwards, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met for talks and the Nehru-Noon Pact came into existence on September 10, 1958 .... There was no mention of Takergram and Lakhimpur in the pact; they were allowed to remain in illegal occupation of Pakistan. This was highly objectionable, but the Prime Minister committed himself to something more objectionable. He allowed Pakistan to raise such questions afresh; there had been no dispute over these issues even after the partition of the country. Accordingly, Berubari in the coastal Jalpaiguri area on the Ichhamati river in 24 Parganas of West Bengal was acceded to Pakistan, further depleting Indian territory ... The Government did not let the public into the details of the Nehru-Noon Pact. We came to know of them only when Pakistani Prime Minister, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, announced in Pakistan's National Assembly." The people of West Bengal strongly protested against

this and the Jan Sangh started a countrywide agitation against its implementation. The west Bengal Assembly unanimously passed a resolution condemning the pact. Chief Minister Bidhan Chandra Roy said in the assembly, "the pact has been signed without the consent of the people of West Bengal." In view of the mounting public opinion against it, the President referred the issue of the transfer of Berubari to the Supreme Court. After considering various aspects of the issue, the Supreme Court gave its ruling, "In the present circumstances, it is unconstitutional to hand over a part of India to another country." This led to the Government introducing an amendment to the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. The Jan Sangh staged a demonstration in front of Lok Sabha under the leadership of Deendayal Upadhyaya, but the Government got the amendment passed in Lok Sabha on the basis of its majority in the House. A few days thereafter, the Chinese aggression took place and the country was placed under emergency. Pakistan entered into an alliance with China in order to spite India. Hopes ran high among people that India would nullify its pact with Pakistan over the transfer of Berubari. But, surprisingly, measures to initiate the transfer were initiated and all protests were suppressed through police lathicharge and largescale arrests."

Deendayal Upadhyaya was hurt by this action of the Government. Criticising Nehru, he said, "Pandit Nehru may be a dictator, but we do not think that he can be so callous and heartless as to completely ignore public sentiment. On the contrary, he possesses many qualities that have deterred him from becoming a tyrant. .. In today's context, Pandit Nehru has assumed the role of arbiter of India's destiny. This is not in the interests of Pandit Nehru and lovers of democracy in the country."

There is sobriety as well as anguish in the above criticism of Nehru by Deendayal. Although the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan could not be averted, Deendayal, in keeping with his faith in an undivided nation and acting on his convictions, turned it into a national issue. Consequently, it led to an amendment in the Constitution and public opinion had to be mobilised on the issue.



## **Huge Demonstration against the Kutch Agreement**

Events from the Kutch agreement to the Tashkent Declaration (1965-66) demonstrate the difference between the security policies of Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. It was for the first time that the Pakistani aggression on Indian soil was met with a befitting response. Describing the event in great detail, Deendayal Upadhyaya says in his statement:

"Pakistani border forces started infiltrating into the Rann of Kutch in February 1965. On March 17, Pakistani Rangers occupied the Indian post of Kanjarkot, 1300 yards in the Indian Territory. On March 25, they occupied Ding as a result of which the Indian soldiers had to withdraw to Wingokot, about six miles into the Indian territory ... Pakistan continued its advance into Kutch and on April 9, it attacked the Sardan post and Wingokot with a complement of troops and heavy artillery. Till then, India had assigned the task of guarding its borders to the Border Security Force (BSF). But people across the country were pained at these developments. As a result, the Army was assigned the safeguarding of Kutch. It started pushing back the Pakistani troops as a result of which Pakistan declared ceasefire and offered talks to resolve the issue. India brushed aside the proposal of talks saying that there was no controversy over the Rann of Kutch. There could be no ceasefire or talks till Pakistan vacated Kanjarkot and other areas on the Indian soil.

"On April 24, Pakistan attacked the Indian security post Point 84. American tanks were used in this attack; this was against the terms of the treaty with America. India brought this to America's notice, but the latter did not pay any attention to the violation of their defence agreement. This encouraged Pakistan and it subsequently started deploying American weapons in a big way in its undeclared war against India.

"As soon as the Indian troops were mobilised to face this situation, India agreed to a ceasefire in the area on the appeal of

the British Prime Minister Wilson and later, at the Prime Ministers' Meet of the Commonwealth, it was decided to refer the issue of the Rann of Kutch to a panel of mediators." This led to the Kutch Agreement between India and Pakistan. Naturally, Upadhyaya lauded Shastri for not accepting Pakistan's offer of ceasefire before asking the aggressor to vacate the Indian territory and considered it an unprecedented event in India's security history. But he opposed the following clauses in the Kutch Agreement:

1. India's sovereignty and integrity have been threatened through granting Pakistan the right to tour the Indian territory.
2. The Kutch Agreement accepts the Pakistani contention that the Rann of Kutch is a disputed territory, whereas the Indian Government has been negating the contention so far.
3. The Shastri Government has entered on a suicidal mission by handing over the Kutch issue to an international tribunal. This is a result of the mischievous maneuverings of external forces. This is the worst part of the agreement.

Jan Sangh was responsible for a mass awakening throughout the country to protest against the Kutch Agreement and lauding the victory of the Indian Army in the area. On August 16, 1965, the largest public rally in India was held in front of Parliament; it was led by Bachhraj Vyas and Deendayal Upadhyaya. Not only in India, but all over the world, the press commented on its effectiveness, discipline, nationalism and numbers. The BBC put the number of demonstrators at over five lakh. Many opposition leaders addressed this massive rally. This led to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri cancelling the scheduled meeting of the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan on August 20, 1965. In its resolution, Jan Sangh said, "If the masses remain so active and vigilant, the Kutch Agreement will be reduced to a scrap of paper."



## **Indo-Pak War of 1965 and the Tashkent Declaration**

This was a novel experience for Pakistan. Till date, it had benefited through agreements and international pressure on India. The cancellation of the August 20 meeting had practically nullified the Kutch Agreement. Pakistan then tried sending infiltrators in large numbers into Kashmir for encouraging insurgency there. But the Indian Army had reoccupied the lost territory in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir from where the infiltrators were sent into the Valley. On August 25, the Indian Army blocked all the routes that the infiltrators used. It crossed the ceasefire line at Kargil and Hajipir and occupied them.

On September 1, 1965, Pakistan attacked India in the Chhamb sector with its troops, tanks and artillery. It was now clear that it was preparing for a major engagement. It attacked Amritsar aeri ally on Sept. 5. The next day, the Indian troops marched towards Lahore and Sialkot. Describing these events in detail as if he had himself witnessed them, Deendayal Upadhyaya said in a statement: "The military strategy that the Jan Sangh had been demanding was started on this day."

Lal Bahadur Shastri convened an all-party meeting on September 6, 1965. Deendayal Upadhyaya and M.S. Golwalkar were also invited. Jan Sangh and RSS had arrived at an agreement regarding India's defence efforts. They assured all cooperation to the Government. Describing those days of the war Deendayal Upadhyaya describes them with a feeling of pride and exultation:

"The 22-day war with Pakistan is a proud moment in India's Post-independence history. India decided to take a bold step against the aggression. The army and the masses implemented this task with enthusiasm, devotion, dedication, boldness, fortitude and expertise. The country became aware of its strengths and weakness; it also revealed to us who our friends and foes were. It generated a feeling of self-pride and self-reliance. We came down from the land of our dreams and learnt to face realities on the ground. The

sentiments of Bharatiya Jan Sangh became the sentiments of an entire nation."

The United Nations urged a ceasefire in the name of peace, but India turned down the request on the plea that Pakistan had attacked it. In 1949, too, the United Nations had urged India to call a ceasefire to which India had agreed, which led to Pakistan occupying its territory for 16 long years during which the UN did nothing to vacate the aggressor. Bharatiya Jan Sangh demanded that no ceasefire be declared until the Pak-occupied-Kashmir was also vacated by the aggressor. It kept up its mass awareness programme in this regard. The entire country was imbued with a warlike enthusiasm to teach a lesson to the aggressor."

It was at the request of the Russian Prime Minister that India declared ceasefire on September 17, 1965 and it was decided to hold a summit meeting at Tashkent between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan through the mediation of Russia. Deendayal Upadhyaya opposed this move. M.S. Golwalkar spoke all over the country in various meetings urging Shastri not to go to Tashkent for mediation. But this had to happen. The Tashkent Declaration came into effect on January 10, 1966. It was signed by India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the Pakistani President Mohammed Ayub Khan. The same night Prime Minister Shastri died mysteriously of cardiac arrest. The Tashkent Declaration said:

"India's Prime Minister and Pakistan's President have agreed that troops from both the sides will return to their positions before August 5, 1965 and this will be completed before February 25, 1966. Both the sides will honour the terms of the ceasefire."

In other words, the territory in Kashmir that was liberated during the war would be handed over to Pakistan by India. If Shastri had been alive, the Jan Sangh would have probably welcomed him back home with a black flag demonstration, but his martyrdom changed the scenario. Upadhyaya wrote a book, entitled *Vishwaasghaat* (Treachery), against the Tashkent Declaration. He



demanded that the Tashkent Declaration be nullified. He was anguished that, in spite of the sacrifices made by our brave soldiers and national resurgence, the Indian territory could not be vacated of the Pakistani aggressors. During the war, Deendayal had called Shastri 'Rashtranayak' (National Hero), but after the Tashkent Declaration, he commented thus on Shastri's favourite slogan, 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan':

"We forgot the slogan of Jai Jawan at Tashkent and as soon as we got the American wheat, we forgot even the other part of the slogan, Jai Kisan. This is not desirable. We cannot get foreign aid without strings."

### **Nationalist Foreign Policy**

Deendayal Upadhyaya was temperamentally principled and idealistic, but he did not subscribe to idealism in India's foreign policy. He believed in a practical approach and expediency in such matters. According to him, a foreign policy is based on a single principle, i.e., national interest. In his own words, "Bharatiya Jan Sangh believes that a nation's foreign policy aims at achieving the selfish interests of that nation. It should be realistic, keeping in view the ever changing situation."

In this manner, he does not attach any idealism or imaginary principles to the country's foreign policy, nor regards any country as its friend or foe. He considered such popular and widely-accepted descriptions as Democracy and a Free World, Opposition to Imperialism and colonialism, Establishment of Social Justice and Radical Worldview, Non-Alignment and Third World Unity as meaningless and as expressions of the superpowers' narrow, selfish interests. The foreign policy can not be formulated within these parameters.

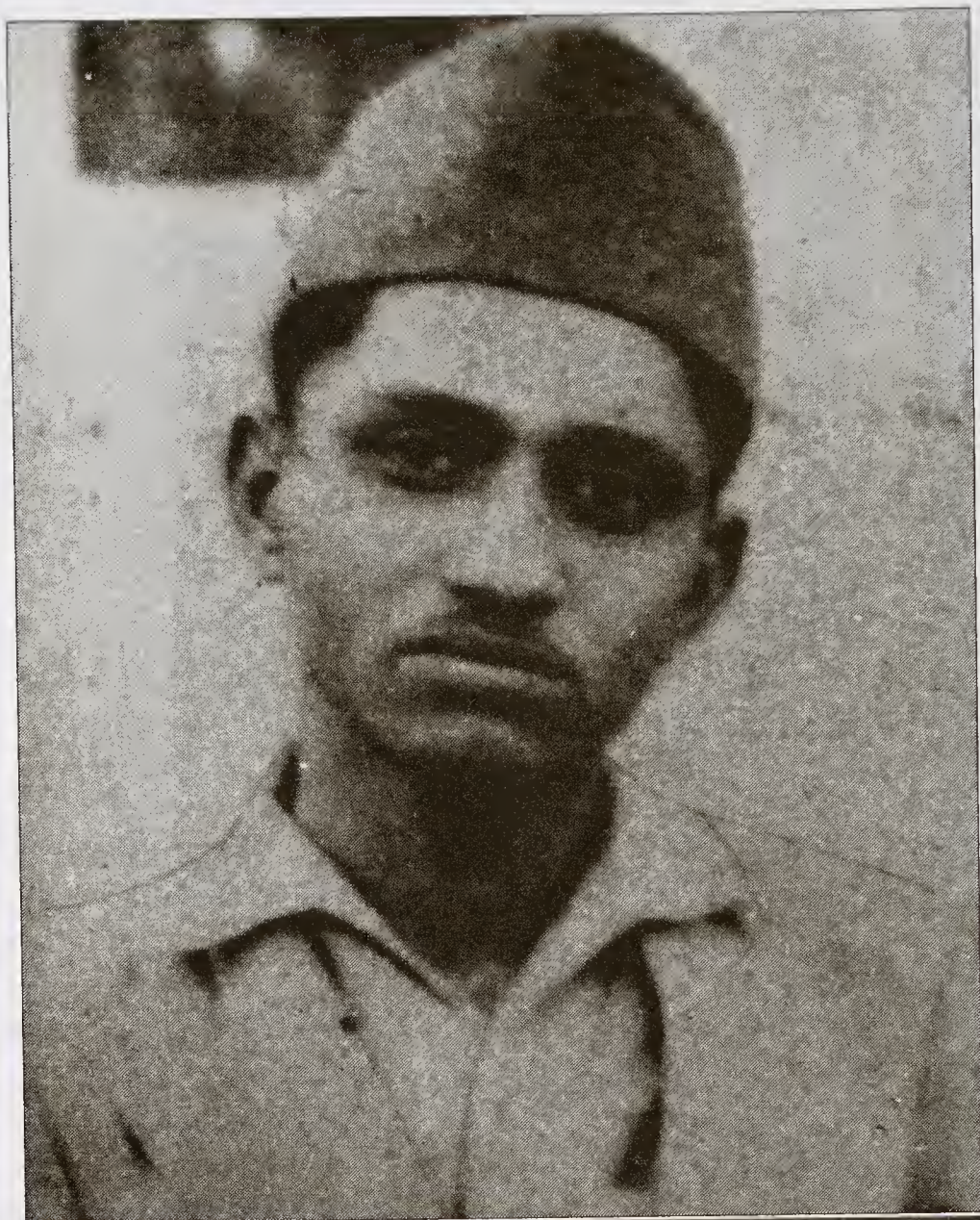
No other country can become our friend by subscribing to anyone of the above slogans; it becomes a friend when it identifies itself with our interests. Deendayal Upadhyaya believed that those countries who are not with India against Pakistan have no right to





*As a child (circled) with his family, 1931*





*A glorious  
journey -  
From young  
Pracharak  
to a great leader*







*Interacting with Indians in London*

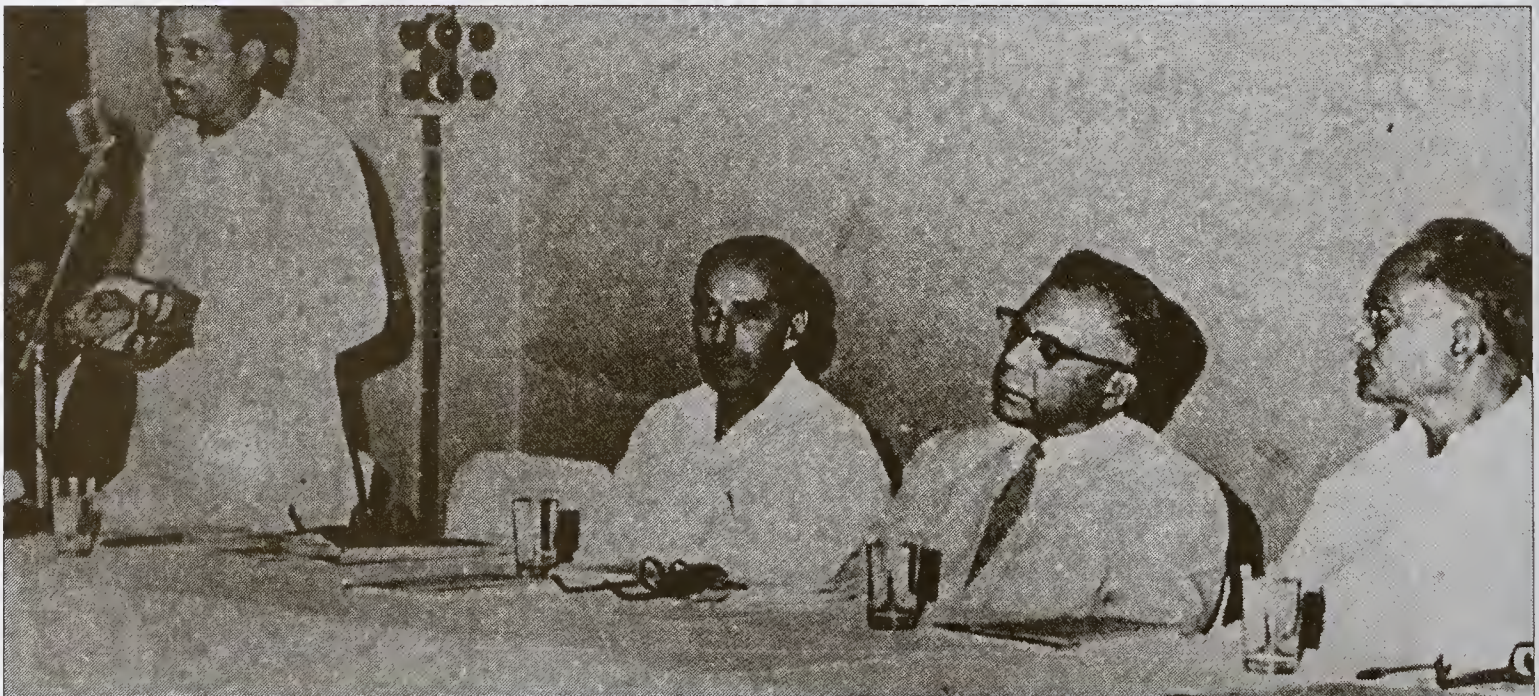


*With Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Pitambar Das and Nanaji Deshmukh*





*With Eknath Ranade  
in Kanyakumari*



*Addressing industrialists in Calcutta,  
also seen are Jai Prakash Narayan and Minoo Masani*



claim our friendship against Israel. It will not be decided through the so-called justice to the Jews in West Asia or any other matter, except Israel's alignment with us in the international community. Only then, will Israel be able to lay a claim to our friendship.

### **New Power Alignment**

Generally, Deendayal Upadhyaya supported India's policy of non-alignment. He, however, did not consider it as permanent. Nor did he subscribe to the division of the entire world into two power blocs. In the wake of the Chinese aggression in 1962, he had this to say about India's foreign policy, "Regarding the question of staying away from the two power blocs in the world, we must now realise that the situation has changed. The world is no longer divided into these two blocs; many new blocs have come up. Delhi and Beijing are now two such power centres. Beijing has embarked on a policy of expansionism. We require a new power bloc to push back Communist China and, in this context, we must decide who our real friends are."

Explaining this concept of new bloc, he said, " .. In this new bloc, we can certainly stay with the Western World because these nations have expressed a desire to help us. Besides, certain non-Aligned Asian nations, which are against China's expansionist designs and can be made aware of the impending danger, can be our friends. Some Communist nations, who condemn the Chinese aggression, can also be our friends and allies. If the democratic America and the Communist Russia can join hands to defeat Nazi Germany, we cannot dismiss such an alliance as a mere pipedream. In this manner, we shall be able to identify our new friends. "He blamed America for India's dependence on Russia. It was because of America's ill-treatment of India and India's insistence on world peace, that he advocated: "If India aligns itself with one bloc, it will be difficult to keep away the flames of war, but it is becoming increasingly difficult for India to keep up its stance of non-alignment. The Anglo-American bloc has been constantly pushing us into the Russian bloc, but we do not want to join them ... By



constantly patting its slave Pakistan on the back, America is losing a close friend and ally like India."

## **Defence Policy**

Deendayal Upadhyaya considered the country's defence policy a complement of its foreign policy and internal policies. This is the basic policy of any country for which it should be prepared to make any sacrifice. Jan Sangh is the only political party that has been deeply involved with the defence concerns of India. He wrote thus in the 1957 party manifesto:

"India's northern frontiers are not secure. Ignoring India's policy of peace, China has trampled upon the freedom of Tibet and enslaved it; this is against all principles of coexistence. While entering into an alliance with Nepal, China has not kept in mind India's peculiar situation. Similarly, showing Indian territory in Chinese maps ... the entry of Chinese into Burma and its activities in the smaller nations of South-east Asia should alarm India and it should be vigilant." Expressing his pain on these developments, he said, "As long as our borders are not secure and the aggression continues, no one can keep silent on the question of national security. But it is regrettable that many political parties have not paid much attention to these issues in their election manifestoes."

The Jan Sangh was successful in the 1962 and 1967 general elections. This put Jawaharlal Nehru and the other political parties in the dock. A large credit for this goes to its defence policy. While dealing with Pakistan and China, almost all the political parties in India ignored the country's security concerns. And the country had to pay heavily for this in the 1962 and 1965 wars. Deendayal Upadhyaya's warnings in this context came out to be true.

## **Armament and Nuclear Bomb**

From the point of view of security, Upadhyaya subscribed to the doctrine that the preparedness to strike is the best defence policy. He, therefore, advocated the modernisation of the country's

army. This was one area in which he adopted the policy of following the West in modernisation. Otherwise, in other such areas as economy, sociology, education and polity, he did not accept any westernisation. If he did, he qualified his support with a number of riders. But as far as defence was concerned, he strongly advocated the adoption of modernisation and introduction of new technologies. If required, every young man in the country should be a soldier; he was in favour of compulsory military training and recruitment. Instead of the training of home guards during war, he strongly advocated constant and compulsory military training for the youth of the country.

Deendayal Upadhyaya wanted to be practical as far as going in for a nuclear bomb was concerned. He did not wish to be involved in philosophical or principled arguments in this case. He believed that the so-called global powers are leading the world not on account of their policies or principles, but because they possess nuclear weapons. The Chinese nuclear bomb has added to its stature. He said, "It is because of our foreign policy that all our neighbours and well-wishers are moving away from us. As soon as the Labour Party came to power in Britain, it decided to further its trade relations with China." He believed that it was not only on the basis of economic principles it was a result of the political and armed clout of China.

He did not think that the nuclear bomb was a danger to world civilisation. Nor did he believe that India was the sole advocate of world peace. "Russia and America possess more nuclear bombs than are necessary to destroy the human civilisation today. But still there has been no war. The Congress Government should, therefore, start building nuclear weapons and leave world peace in the hands of God."

Upadhyaya was not in favour of the policy of ceasefire and pacts, this encouraged the country's enemies. Therefore, he advocated war, till the ultimate victory was achieved. If every Indian subscribed to this thought and if all the policies were framed accordingly, it would lead to defence preparedness.



The policy of an undivided India was a complement to the country's internal and foreign policies. He believed that India did not seek war, but it should always be prepared to face it. In this connection, it would be apt to reiterate his thoughts on the reorganisation of states and the language issue.

## **Reorganisation of States**

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya was basically against the federal structure of the country. He wanted a centralised administration in the country. We had to adopt the federal structure because we wanted states to be members of the Union of India. When we accepted the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis, it led to many difficulties. Criticising these two tenets of nationhood, he wrote: "Language is an ingredient in the formation of an administrative unit. But it is not the only criterion. Language has an important role to play in administration, especially in a democratic set-up. Languages have thus become natural boundaries of some states, but many people feel that making language the base of an administrative unit is carrying things too far and it smacks of regionalism. Jan Sangh does not think it is right." He, therefore, demanded the setting up of a commission to reorganise states. To say that States with different languages have different cultures is a major mistake. India, in his opinion, was one state, and not a federation of several states. He suggested that in place of 'federal state' and 'state', should be used terms like 'Central Administration' and 'Provinces'. This will be one step towards a unitary state. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh passed a resolution for the setting up of a commission for the reorganisation of states at its inaugural Kanpur session.

The States Reorganisation Commission was set up in 1954. Deendayal Upadhyaya submitted a comprehensive memorandum to this commission wherein he submitted that language should not be the only basis for the reorganisation of states; there should be other practical considerations also. Issuing a statement on the neutral

policy regarding regionalism and linguism of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, he said:

" ... Even if there is no Maharashtrian in Bombay, it should be merged with Maharashtra. Similarly, if there is no Bengali in Calcutta, it remains a part of Bengal. We should reconsider their geographic boundaries ... I am not prepared to accept what the people of those regions say. Should we seek their referendum on such trivial matters? ... There will be only one administration in the country. If this is not achieved today, it will be achieved tomorrow."

Many communities and political parties submitted their memorandum to the commission. Each of them advocated the reorganisation of existing states on the basis of their calculations. When the Commission submitted its recommendations to the Government, Upadhyaya welcomed it. He said, " we have generally welcomed the recommendations. Many dignitaries have said that these recommendations have been made on the basis of the Jan Sangh memorandum."

"Unitary and central rule was not among the terms of reference of the Commission, but still the Commission had done a great service to the country keeping in view the prevailing social sentiments and aspirations," he said. With these words, Jan Sangh accepted the recommendations of the Commission and said: "The Working Committee is happy that language has not been considered as the only basis for the reorganisation of states; this demand has been rejected. In its place, the following considerations have weighed with the Commission in making its judicious recommendations in this regard:

1. Administrative convenience,
2. Economic viability,
3. Need for national development plans,
4. Geographical contiguity,
5. National unity and integration,



Deendayal Upadhyaya felt that the recommendations of the Commission should be implemented at the earliest. But the Government announced that it would seek the opinion of the states and their legislative assemblies on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, and their verdict would be placed before Parliament. Upadhyaya felt that there was no need for seeking the opinion of the states and their legislative assemblies. In his opinion, Parliament was the supreme body and it should take a decision in the matter.

He made the following suggestion when the Government presented the States Reorganisation Bill in Parliament: "We should take this occasion of the States Reorganisation Bill to put an end to the expenditure being incurred on Legislative Councils in States." He expressed his regrets on the different policies adopted by different states in this regard: "The Bill has not made any mention regarding All-India Services, opening of a Hindi university in the South and according a Central University status to the Osmania University."

The advance reactions to the Bill in the states were widespread. Many agitations were organised in states where two languages were spoken. The Provincial Congress leaders could not rise above regional and linguistic considerations. Agitations were organised in Maharashtra, Punjab, Bihar and Bengal. There were violent incidents in Bombay and Punjab. Consequently, the states were reorganised on a linguistic basis and it was decided that this policy would be adopted throughout the country without exception. But one must make a mention of the incidents in Bombay and Punjab.

(A) **Bombay State:** The former Bombay State was bilingual and it covered both Gujarat and Maharashtra. Andhra Pradesh, on the other hand, was created on the basis of language and now there were agitations for bifurcating Bombay State into Maharashtra and Gujarat on linguistic basis. The controversy gave birth to Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Samiti. The former agitated for a separate state of Maharashtra

on linguistic basis, while the latter agitated for a separate state of Gujarat taking into account the economic contribution of the Gujarati community. The Government had generally given up its earlier stance of bilingual states in favour of the creation of the basis of a single language. But now, two separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created, but Bombay was declared a Union Territory because of the pressure from Morarji Desai who wanted Bombay in the state of Gujarat. So that the city did not go either to Gujarat or Maharashtra. he arranged it to be known as a Union Territory. Consequently, there were violent incidents in Bombay and the Gujaratis which suffered huge losses in terms of life and property. There was bloodshed between the Gujaratis and the Maharashtrians on account of internal strife within the Congress. There was no justification for Bombay being declared a Union Territory and Upadhyaya condemned it. He directed his volunteers to help in the re-establishment of peace and order.

Here again, one gets to know of the distinctive personality of Upadhyaya and how effective it was. He was not an opposition leader who would condemn and criticise the Government because it failed to establish law and order and create problems in its way. His reaction to the violence was:

"Whatever has happened in Bombay is a blot on Indianness. It is not possible to atone for it. The policies and decisions of the Centre may have been inappropriate, but the reaction was shameful. It is time every political party in India took to introspection over these occurrences."

The Bombay State was eventually reorganised. Bombay was merged with Maharashtra and the rest of the territories formed Gujarat. It is worth mentioning that the Samyukt Maharashtra Samiti, which agitated for the creation of Maharashtra on the basis of Marathi as the dominating language there, was constituted by the Communists; it also had a fair sprinkling of Socialists. The movement was popular among the masses. The Jan Sangh was in a dilemma



whether to participate in the movement as it was against the reorganisation of states purely on linguistic basis. But if it kept away from the mass movement, it might be isolated and thus help strengthen the Communists who had adopted a secessionist stance inspired by external forces. There was an indepth discussion on the issue in the party and that made Deendayal leave for Bombay.

Prabhakarpant Patwardhan, who was the Jan Sangh representative in the Samyukt Maharashtra Samiti, said in this context: "The pronounced Jan Sangh policy was not to associate itself with the Communists at the national level, who were playing a prominent role in the movement ... They were the proponents of multi-nationhood in India at that time and a majority of Bharatiya Jan Sangh workers were against working with them. It was at this juncture that Deendayal was invited there. He persuaded everyone and made them join the Samyukt Maharashtra Samiti." Upadhyaya put forth the following four points for their consideration:

1. We do not recognise language as the only basis for the creation of a state, but to create a bilingual state by merging Gujarat with Maharashtra lacks justification.
2. If the states were created on administrative basis instead of on a linguistic and federal basis, it would have been in keeping with our policy, but when other states are being created on the basis of language, the creation of Maharashtra is also justified.
3. Our unitary state does not imply centralisation, but is in favour of decentralisation to the grassroots level in a democratic society.
4. Not associating ourselves with the Communists and, at the same time, not allowing popular mass movements to become victims of anti-national forces, are both a part of our policy. We should, therefore, not keep ourselves away from popular sentiment so that it does not become an example of multi-nationhood. We should join the Samyukt Maharashtra Samiti.

Patwardhan says, "We pulled the reins of the Communists and made them chant slogans in favour of one nation; we also opposed the concept of multinationhood. If we had not joined the Samiti, it would not have been possible." When the Communists tried to turn the Samyukt Maharashtra Samiti into a political party after the 1957 general elections, Deendayal visited Bombay again. He said, "Our task is over. Now we should disassociate ourselves from the Samiti."

(B) **Punjab State:** The reorganisation process in the state of Punjab was the longest drawn-out. In 1953-54, there was an agitation demanding the creation of a Punjabi Suba which led to the Maha-Punjab movement. Tension was in the air. Eventually Punjab was created on linguistic basis on March 9, 1966.

The reason for this long drawn-out agitation was not language, but communalism. The Akalis, led by the Sikhs, demanded the creation of a Punjabi Suba on the basis of language, but the Hindus, whose leadership generally came from the Arya Samaj cadres, took it as a demand for separatism and demanded a bilingual Maha-Punjab.

The Maha-Punjab Samiti, which comprised RSS and Jan Sangh workers, agitated against the division of Punjab, but they could not carry the Sikh community with them. In spite of their nationalist statements, it became an anti-sikh, Hindu movement. Punjabi Hindus also used Punjabi in their day-to-day dealings, but they gave their mother tongue as Hindi, not Punjabi. This gave rise to a feeling of betrayal among the Sikhs for the Hindus and they became anti-Hindi. The Akalis demanded a Punjabi-speaking Punjabi Suba, while not being able to form a united Sikh-Hindu front for its creation; their agitation smacked more of Sikhism than Punjabinat. Earlier, the province had been partitioned on the basis of religion, the Muslim-majority parts going to West Pakistan. The Hindus realised this and in the manner of once-bitten-twice shy, they felt that the further division of Punjab was another step towards the partition of the country. This led to several complications and confrontations. The



basis of the Maha-Punjab slogan was nationalism, but the Sikhs thought it to be a ploy against Sikhism. The basis of Punjabi Suba was the creation of state on the basis of language, which the Hindu leadership regarded as a step towards separatism and secessionism. Hindi-Punjabi bilingualism and Punjabi as a single dominant language were mere facades for sloganeering. But in spite of this tension, the situation did not assume the proportions of Hindu-Sikh communalism because the two communities were culturally and socially inseparable. But this political battle attacked the very basis of their unity. The battle for Punjabi was fought in the gurudwaras and the battlefield for Hindi were the Arya Samaj temples in the state.

This shocked Deendayal Upadhyaya. He was not directly connected with the mass movement in Punjab in the sense the Arya Samaj leadership of Maha-Punjab was. The Hindi-Punjabi conflict soured to such an extent that Hindus, in a way, were pictured as anti-Punjabi and Sikhs as anti-Hindi. The RSS Sarsanghachalak M.S. Golwalker toured Punjab and declared that Punjabi was the language of Punjab and the Hindu and the Sikhs were not two separate communities but a single social unit. The RSS work overshadowed that of non-Hindus. That is why Golwalkar's statements were able to pacify passions. The Maha-Punjab Samiti workers were miffed with Golwalkar, but the Akali leader Master Tarasingh thanked Golwalkar. Later, at his behest, the Akalis were associated with the formation of Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Upadhyaya severely criticised the discriminating Congress policies in this regard: "In reality, the Congress Government in Punjab wanted the various factions to fight over the demand of Punjabi Suba and Maha-Punjab so that it could become a mediator and serve its own interests."

The Congress-Akali alliance was a strange alliance. The Congress, on the one hand, called the Akalis communal and, on the other, entered into an electoral alliance with them. It ignored the Maha-Punjab Samiti while talking to the Akalis for the reorganisation

of the state. Upadhyaya saw in it electoral politics of the Congress. He warned the Maha-Punjab Samiti that instead of dissipating its energy and resources in agitations and Satyagraha, it should concentrate on defeating the Akali-Congress alliance and its opportunism and communalism. It should formulate its policies keeping the forthcoming elections in mind. "It seemed that the Congress strategy seems to finish off Punjabi nationalist forces on the spot instead of pitting against them in elections. The Congress Government and its followers appear to divert the peoples' attention from real issues. Will the Maha-Punjab Samiti fall into this trap? Any satyagraha or related move will prove to be such a trap ... This is for the Maha-Punjab Samiti to decide."

Expressing his opinion on the Akali-Congress alliance, he analysed the complete character of the Congress thus: "... There is always a difference between what the Congress says and what it does. While proclaiming to be nationalist, it has always encouraged communal elements. It would not be wrong to say that the Congress is the ultimate refuge of all communal forces. Even the steadfast Muslim Leaguers are today part of the Congress. A senior leader of the Justice party is a secretary of the Congress. In Kerala, the party is being called the Catholic Congress. If it dons a blue turban in place of its white cap in Punjab, why should we be surprised? The Congress can do anything to win elections."

Upadhyaya expressed his resentment at the Congress inviting only the Akalis to decide the future of Punjab by comparing it to the British policy of divide-and-rule. He demanded the convening of a round-table conference to arrive at a solution of the Punjab problem:

"It is surprising that the Government has invited only the Akalis to discuss the future map of Punjab ... The Government wished to appease the Akalis by going out of their way ... The public needs to be assured that any decision arrived at in this regard will not ignore popular sentiment. So that there is no feeling of bitterness among the different communities after a judicious decision on the issue is taken, it is imperative that the Government should itself become a



party to confront a communal party and a round table conference be convened to take into account all the different viewpoints. In order to ensure peace in the province, it is essential to arrive at a consensus in which the maximum number of people participate."

Unfortunately, this did not happen in Punjab. The problem was not solved even after the creation of Punjabi Suba. There is still controversy over Chandigarh and Punjab-Haryana borders. Creation of states on linguistic basis has given rise to the concept of subnationalities. Probably Upadhyaya was the sole proponent of an integral administration in the country. He advocated the integral structure at the Calicut presidential address also.

In August 1956 when Parliament was debating on the States Reorganisation Bill, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote a long article, titled 'August, 1947 versus August 1956' in Panchajanya, drawing a parallel between the two strands of thought. He wrote:

"The bill being debated these days has provisions and clauses that evoke concern. Unified and federal structures may be the topics for discussion ... Today the poisonous seeds are being sown. It is a matter of worry that Pandit Nehru, who has the foresight and vision of a worldclass statesman, is allowing this to happen. Is it the effect of the month of August? Only the future will tell who succeeds in the battle between August 1947 and August 1956."

## **Language Policy**

Deciding on a single language policy of such a diverse and vast territory as India is mind-boggling. Has there been one single language in the entire country at any point of history? It is not easy to answer this poser. Scholars who speak of the languages of the Aryans and the Dravidians opine that the languages of the South not rooted in Sanskrit, but Deendayal strongly believed that Sanskrit was the language of scholars and the languages of the South are also based on Sanskrit.

Urdu was a byproduct of Muslim invasions and English had been imposed on us by the British. Some sections wanted

Sanskritised Hindi to be India's national language, but it was not easy to do so in view of the presence of several regional languages and the dominance of English in the country. Upadhyaya was actively involved in the language issue during his lifetime and he continued doling out convincing reasons in support of his beliefs. Using language as a part of politics, led to the erosion of national self-pride and hindered the progress and development of Hindi. He said: "Politicians can fight over the language issue, but they cannot create a new language."

In the context of the inefficacy of Hindi and the practical use of English all over India, Deendayal expressed his views thus: "During the early days of our freedom struggle, we reacted to the pro-British elements by saying that self-rule cannot be replaced by good rule. Today also, we need our own language instead of a good language for communication."

He associated the question of link language or national language with his concept of undivided India. He, therefore, felt that the ancient Indian language Sanskrit should be constitutionally recognised as the country's National Language and Hindi should be accorded the status of Link Language and developed accordingly. He was a strong advocate of Hindi, but he realised the limitations of Hindi in 1957 at Bangalore and in 1967 at Calicut conference. But if the language was used as an instrument for dividing the country, Deendayal was not in favour of Hindi. He, therefore, became a supporter of English as India's alternative link language. Before he could crystallise his views further on deploying language as a tool of national integration in its proper perspective, destiny snatched him away from us.



## Pioneer of Democracy

**D**eendayal Upadhyaya wanted to base India's independence on its culture. He was, therefore, not prepared to accept any widely-accepted notion in this regard blindly. A western concept of the nation, western secularism, western democracy and various other western issues came up for comment; Deendayal was for Indianising all these concepts.

He enthusiastically accepted the concept of democracy. Although it was established in India immediately after independence and universal franchise was introduced through the Constitution of India, Deendayal was slightly apprehensive of this move in view of India's long years of slavery. He reached the conclusion that universal adult franchise should come after proper education. He believed that democracy was not a gift of the West to India. Indian nationhood is naturally democratic. He wrote:

"Vedic Sabhas and Samitis were also organised on the basis of democracy, and many medieval states in India were completely democratic. We have confined the powers and privileges of kings and made them cater to the demands of the public. We may find instances of kings violating the code of public welfare and public good, but people's protest against them and their not being considered ideal rulers justify our democratic sentiments ... The way democracy has been defined, it is a government to be run through mutual discussion. Continuous consultation and discussion is an old Indian adage. But... if we carry it to the other extreme, it would prove to be troublesome. Voltaire has said, 'If I do not consider your viewpoint right, I would fight with all my strength for your right of self-expression.' He has, therefore, accepted men's ability to discuss

and argue. The Indian culture goes beyond this and views democratic discussion as something through which we arrive at the essence of thought." Deendayal comments on the rise of democracy in the West, its deterioration into Capitalism and Karl Marx's dictatorial reaction as under:

"After nationalism ... the second radical concept is democracy, which has deeply affected European polity. In the beginning, nations were ruled by monarchs, but their tyranny led to an awakening among the people. In the wake of the Industrial Revolution and development of international commerce, the trading community became a demanding force. Naturally, the traders came into conflict with the nobility and the monarchy. This conflict sowed the seeds of democracy. Roots of this form of government have been traced to the nation-states of ancient Greece. Liberty, equality and fraternity were the slogans of the French Revolution. Ruling dynasties were either put an end to or their rights and privileges were limited to make way for constitutional rule. Today, democracy is an accepted form of government in Europe. Those who ignored democracy, today subscribe to this form of government. Even dictators like Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin did not go against democratic principles." Democracy was developed in the West as an idealistic and popular concept, but the newly-created traders and the modern Industrial Revolution made it a tool of capitalistic exploitation. Upadhyaya, therefore, says further:

"Although democracy has granted the franchise to every citizen, its leadership was confined to the people who expounded this concept. A new method of production was introduced after the Industrial Revolution. The worker who stayed at home and worked, became an employee of a factory owner. He left his home in the country side and came to live in the city. There were proper arrangements for his living there. There were no rules in the factory where he worked. The organisation of labour was weak and ill-defined. The worker become a victim of torture and exploitation. Those who had the right to govern were the very people who



exploited the workers. The workers, therefore, could not look up to the government for the redressal of their grievances.

Many people raised their voice to protest against the prevailing situation and worked for bringing about an improvement in it. They called themselves socialists. Karl Marx was one of them. He commented on the economy and history in order to bring about a transformation. It was on the basis of his thought that socialism assumed a scientific standing. The later socialists mayor may not have subscribed to his views, but he has left a deep imprint on their thinking."

Deendayal Upadhyaya, while agreeing with the basic tenets of democracy in the west that were a reaction to oligarchy, exploitation and capitalism, wanted to Indianise the concept of democracy. He gave a call for Indianising the democratic set-up of government.

#### **(A) Indianisation of Democracy**

Elections are an important constituent of democracy in the west. Constitution, executive, legislature and judiciary are its byproducts, but they are a mere formality in any democracy. Its soul consists of reflecting the opinion of the people rightly. "Democracy is not dependent on any outward manifestations. Adult franchise and the electoral process are important parts of any democracy, but they do not alone lead to its establishment. Both these are present in Russia, but experts do not accept it as a democracy. Another feature is required for democracy besides adult franchise and the electoral process ... Democracy is not merely the rule of the majority ... In such a government, at least one segment of the public will be there whose voice is stifled even though it may be right. This form of democracy cannot work for everyone's welfare and everyone's good ... Therefore, in any form of democracy for India, elections, majority and minority, etc., all must be combined and harmonised at one place. Anyone who has a different opinion from the majority, even if he a single individual,

his viewpoint must be respected and incorporated into governance. In England, where democracy has achieved the maximum success, the leader of the opposition is paid his salary from the National Exchequer. In any democracy, there must be two political parties in Parliament. The Opposition always comments upon and criticise the policies of the Government."

### **(B) Honouring Public Opinion**

Upadhyaya believed that while the immediate policies in a democracy may be governed by majority opinion, Democracy is not always able to give expression to the views of the majority. This leads to infighting in the party and unrest in society. A democracy must, therefore, rule according to popular opinion, not only majority or minority opinion. The public cannot express its opinion formally. When there is confusion regarding public opinion, democracy may degenerate into monocracy. Vocal leaders can misuse this. Quoting Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, Upadhyaya says, "The public that was celebrating the murder of Julius Caesar with Brutus a moment ago, was roused to go in Brutus" murder after Antony's speech. It is difficult to keep alive democracy between the two forms of government - mobocracy and autocracy."

It is therefore, necessary to generate mass awareness. Upadhyaya calls it honouring or embellishing public opinion. It is a cultural process. In the dictatorial communist regimes, it is called brainwashing or depriving the dissidents of their rights, which is inhuman. On the other hand, in the so-called democracies, it leads to chaos; the government media misuses it. According to Upadhyaya, "In India, the problem has been solved by taking away the right of building democracy from the government. Educating public opinion is the work of selfless ascetics. Ruling according to public opinion is the task of the government. The ascetics always have the upliftment of the public and their spiritual interests in mind and, as such, they work according to these noble ideals; they make the people aware of the limitations of their faith and religion without



any vested interests. That is why they can follow these ideals. A society's values are built and strengthened through education and code of conduct. If a democracy confines itself to their limits, it will never go against public opinion."

Upadhyaya's views on honouring public opinion are similar to what political thinkers believed in the west, "We educate our masters". In fact, there was a movement started on these lines. The highlights of his viewpoint about democracy's success are:

1. Tolerance and discipline;
2. Selflessness; and
3. Respect for the law of the land.

(1) **Tolerance and Discipline:** "The mainstream of democracy has been tolerance. In its absence, elections, legislature, etc., are lifeless ... Tolerance is the basis of Indian culture. It gives us strength to find out what the public at large desires." Discipline is essential for tolerance. Upadhyaya says, "Discipline involves working under the limits laid down. Starving oneself is not discipline, but it is eating according to the body's requirements. Keeping mum or not protesting against tyranny or not rendering good advice to anyone is not discipline. A disciplined person stands between a vocal person and a dumb person; he speaks as and when necessary."

"Indiscipline and irresponsibility go together. A democracy can be successful only when a citizen understands his responsibilities and discharges them to the best of his abilities. The more a society understands that it is its responsibility to run the government, the more disciplined it would become. A political party that feels that sooner or later it may be called upon to shoulder the responsibility of governance, the more responsible it will become in making promises and in its general behaviour. Even then, it always lies with the public to run the administration." It is, therefore, imperative that the people must be responsible and disciplined in order to make democracy a success more than its formal manifestations.

- (2) **Selflessness:** The lust for power provokes people and their leaders to ignore popular will. The environment of society should, therefore, be such that a citizen is involved in a democracy more out of selflessness than out of lust for power. To play the electoral game in the spirit of sportsmanship develops this selflessness, but on the other hand, lust for power gives rise to mutual enmity and bitterness. Giving the example of Ram, Upadhyaya explains his viewpoint thus:

"In a democracy, a high degree of selflessness is required in governance. Like Lord Ram, the rulers must always be prepared to rule at the people's behest and give it all up when required without any ill-feeling. They must always strive for victory like a sportsman. If a ruler cannot accept defeat and congratulate his competitor on the latter's victory, he is not a democrat. It was this feeling that led Churchill to hand over power to Attlee who, in turn, transferred it to Eden."

This selflessness is generated because of a person's inherent qualities. The mere trappings of democracy do not make a person accept the general public opinion. He requires good company, self-meditation and self-discipline in order to conquer the lust of power.

- (3) **Respect for the Law of the Land:** A state is politically organised based on "rule of law" and respect for the law of the land is what an ethical society requires. A person who respects the law of the land can only implement it. Where people do not believe in the rule of the law, they mistrust it and ignore it. This leads to immorality and anarchy in society. It has only been in India that we have been able to make the people follow moral law and values without bringing about the fear of legal punishment. It is essential in a healthy democracy that we should observe the law of the land, not out of any fear of punishment, but of our own sense of social responsibility. Upadhyaya urged the political parties to educate the public opinion on these lines and themselves act accordingly.



"In order to generate respect for the law in the public, it is necessary that the political parties which aspire to uphold the rule of the law, should themselves set an example in this regard. The feeling of self-rule and the capability is the essence of democracy. If the political parties cannot govern themselves how can they aspire to generate a feeling of self-rule in society?"

A democratic mentality is required for respecting the law of the land; it is also necessary that the lawmakers, scholars, people's representatives and journalists should also educate the public about the various provisions of the law. In order to express their views on respect for the law of the land, people must also be educated to put forth their views that are against the accepted views. Upadhyaya was not merely a scholar or philosopher, but also a known political worker. He believed that elections were not merely an instrument for political struggle, they were also instruments of social interaction. They must be used in this direction. He has expressed his views on the electoral process that demonstrate his political and statesmanlike views on what a Good Candidate, Good Party and Good Voter should be.

**Good Candidate:** According to Upadhyaya, " ... A suitable candidate is one who, along with giving expression to the policies of his party, also feels the pulse of his electorate. As a person, he must be faithful to his electoral; as member of a political party, he should be dedicated to expressing the viewpoint and policies of the party he represents."

Devotion to the electorate as well as the party is the touchstone of a good candidate. But expressing his concern over the selection of candidates by the various political parties who are concerned more about winning the election than about the right candidate, he said:

"Unfortunately, there is not a single political party in India that is worried about this. The only thing that matters to them is that their candidate must somehow win ... They only give a ticket to the

candidate who has the maximum chances of winning." He warns the voters: "We must remember that an ineligible candidate is not worthy of our vote even if he belongs to a good political party .... It is possible that while giving the ticket to such a person, a political party may have been giving by immediate gains or it may even have made a grave mistake. It is, therefore, the duty of a responsible voter to rectify this mistake by his awareness."

**Good Party:** Political parties play a decisive role in a democratic set-up. The democratic nature of any society can be judged by the character of its political parties. According to Upadhyaya, a good political party is "the one which is not a conglomerate of people lusting for power but the one which has its own distinctive character apart from aspiring for political power. Such a party is dedicated to its own ideals and their implementation instead of merely contesting elections or coming to power. From the top leadership to the grassroots level, everyone associated with such a party is committed to its ideals. Commitment and dedication, we must remember, lead to discipline and self-sacrifice ... If discipline is imposed from above, it betrays the inner weakness of that political party."

Deendayal points out regretfully that most political parties in India are parties just in name. Their inner weakness leads them to dependence on unwanted and undesirable anti-social elements. Such compulsions are: (i) former rulers; (ii) casteism; and (iii) industrialists.

**Former Rulers:** Most political parties in India haven't been able to strike strong roots among the masses ... keeping aside their political activities, the parties have to become election-savvy. That is why many of them have tried to drag in former rulers, nawabs and Jagirdars to their fold ... We must concede that these former constituents of society must be active in the country's politics, but granting them tickets to fight elections should not be solely dependent on their dynasties but their abilities."



**Casteism:** "Caste and community are the other considerations which affect the selection of candidates ... Every citizen in India belongs to one caste or community or another. In blaming other for casteism and parochialism while ourselves submitting to their dictates indirectly encourages such an attitude ... If things come to such a pass that a person of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's stature has to withdraw from contest because the number of voters in that constituency do not belong to the majority community, the situation is indeed grave. The solution to this problem is to strengthen the organisation of political parties so that they do not appeal to the electorate on the basis of their caste or community.

**Industrialists:** While selecting candidates, a major consideration is their financial standing and the ability to spend on elections. A large number of contestants are selected for their financial clout. . . In reality, such people come to political party not to garner tickets or votes but to buy them ... Membership of Parliament is another means of enriching themselves and extending their business. Many political parties, including the Congress, are worried about lack of finances so that they are keen to seek the cooperation of this class.

**Good Voter:** Upadhyaya felt that the remedy to such ills was the judiciousness and discretion exercised by the voter. "These are realities that are taking the country in a wrong direction ... Political parties, which wish to make a mark in the body politic, must keep away from these dangers and safeguard their own ideals and objectives. Similarly, it is the duty of the electorate to be aware of these dangers and give expression to its discretion so that the wrong perspective adopted by the country's parties is set right." For this, Upadhyaya urged the voters to keep in mind the following:

1. " ... Use your right of franchise not for the party but for ideals, not for an individual but the party, not for money power but for the individual."
2. " ... Do not be misled by the hype associated with a candidate because he is certain to win. Whatever the outcome of the election, it will be your own defeat.

3. " ... The right to vote is a test of your thinking and morality. Pay heed to this; do not sell your right to vote; neither should you allow to be misused or destroyed."
4. "The right to vote is symbolic of each citizen's freedom and you should exercise it not at the behest of someone but at your own discretion after judicious thinking."
5. " ... The people should keep this constantly in mind that they are the real builders and supporters of political parties."

Deendayal Upadhyaya was the General Secretary of a political party, but he expressed his views impartially; he rose above party politics and spoke like a true democrat. India's unity in diversity and national integration can be maintained only in a democracy. His nationalism had transformed him into a true democrat.

#### **(C) Democracy is Essential for national Unity**

He believed that in the prevalent scenario in India, democracy and national unity were inextricably connected. "If democracy comes to an end here, it will spell the doom of national unity ... Even secessionist and separatist forces will gradually move towards national unity in a democracy. When they win the elections on the basis of casteism and regionalism, they would realise that they can sit alone in the legislatures. That is why there is a gradual change in the attitude of Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam. In the face of democracy, the presence of a particular regional party in a state cannot keep aloof from the national mainstream. But if democracy is no more, national unity will also disappear. .. Democracy is essential for India's unity."

#### **(D) Opportunistic Politics of United Fronts**

Opportunistic use of democracy for getting power is a big challenge to democracy. Deendayal warns the country of this danger thus: "United fronts have been formed in our country. The aim of such combines is that different political parties



cannot defeat the party in power on their individual strength. So they should put up a combined candidate against the Congress ... These united fronts which come together to share power also compromise on their ideals and objectives, which encourages opportunistic elements in the country."

Deendayal Upadhyaya's thoughts on democracy begin with the Indianisation of this form of government, go on to honouring public opinion at all levels and are complete at his assessment of the working of Indian democracy. His thinking is idealistic. He is impressed by sociological and psychological elements in his thinking. It is the good fortune of a political party to have such a moralist and ethical person as its leader. One who follows ethical values in the face of adverse circumstance, emerges to be the real leader in politics. People who compromise at every step for immediate and short-term gains are opportunists. The opportunism that Upadhyaya warned us against, started in his times and it culminated in his assassination. This was a big loss to Indian democracy.

Here it must be mentioned that Deendayal Upadhyaya's guide, Guruji Golwalkar believed that democracy was the least evil of running a government conceived by man. He believed that the right approach to governance has still to be researched and arrived. He also wanted Indianism of democracy and said that western democracy was based on the self-congratulatory thought of "self-praise and criticism of others", whereas the Indian thought had taught us to look at our own shortcomings and laud the achievements of others. For the last fifty or more years, the western attitude of "self-praise and criticism of others" has adversely affected our thinking. Deendayal thought it to be a challenge facing political workers in the country.

## Thoughts on Economy

**W**e know about Deendayal's expertise in Mathematics since his student days. But he studied literature when he went in for higher education. When he took to politics, he realised that no nation could develop without an independent economic policy. He was not ready to accept a readymade model for India's economy. He led a political party that was basically rooted in India's culture and did not want to tread the materialistic path presented by the west. No political party can function without formulating its own economic policy. It cannot claim to have an edge over others without closely studying the socio-economic situation of the country and just on its cultural, religious and scriptural thoughts. When he became the leader of his party, Deendayal Upadhyaya attempted to develop an economic policy in keeping with its cultural commitments. The Jan Sangh has often been blamed for lack of an economic policy, but when one studies Deendayal's writings, one realises that his party and his workers could not make the masses aware of his economic thinking. In addition to his miscellaneous writings and several articles on the subject, we must have a look at three of his books written one after another in a sequence to understand his economic thinking. They are:

1. The Two Plans: Promises, Performances, Prospects;
2. Indian Economic Policy: Direction to Development; and
3. Devaluation: A Great Fall

### Egalitarian Economic View

Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote the article on the economic policy of Jan Sangh at the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Conference in 1953



for a volunteers' workshop, but before that, there were several incidents that acquainted one with his basic economic thinking. In keeping with his philosophical outlook and its subsequent evolution, he rejected the concept of socialism in all its technicalities. But he had not joined Jan Sangh then and was an RSS pracharak in Uttar Pradesh. Rebutting the allegation that the RSS had capitalist leanings, he had said: "This thinking is foolishness that sangh wants to preserve Zamindars and Capitatists is more falsehood. Will the millions of the country's youth sacrifice everything and work day and night in order to preserve a handful of Zamindars?"

Attempts were made to merge Jan Sangh with Ram Rajya parishad after the party came into being. But they were ail unsuccessful. Deendayal criticised the Ram Rajya Parishad at the time. What he wrote must be mentioned in this regard:

"By keeping itself aloof from the United Front, Ram Rajya Parishad has proved that it represents the radical and capitalist elements and its thoughts do not flow from the Karpatri hut but are inclined towards the Zamindars and the trading class."

As General Secretary of the Jan Sangh, he made his first public statement on the party economic policy on July 25, 1953; " ... Our economic programme is absolutely socialistic. We are committed to the present economic set up and to the reduction of inequalities in income and expenditure. We wish to establish a 1:20 proportion between the lowest and the highest income. We not only want the nationalisation of basic industries, but also wish to apply this principle to those industries, which enjoy the monopoly of only a handful of people. Economic and political decentralisation is our motto."

"There is no need to compensate to erstwhile Zamindars and Jagirdars, but wherever is required for their rehabilitation must be done."

At the end of the same year, he presented a detailed resolution at the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Conference. It amplifies and

elaborates what he said above. Three incidents and Deendayal's reaction to them must be mentioned here:

1. The cotton textile workers of Kanpur went on strike against the modernisation of mills that would lead to large scale unemployment. Deendayal supported their strike and elaborated his views on modernisation and capitalism thus.

"The question of modernisation is complicated. It is not only confined to the workers; it has an all India character. In reality, the establishment of large industries and capitalism in our economy are based on modernisation. Science today is constantly trying to invent such machines as would require the minimum of manual labour. In countries with less population and large markets, the new machines are a boon. In a country like ours, they give rise to unemployment."

2. Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote an article on shopless traders of Delhi and the problems faced by them. He said:

"... Perhaps more than the established shopkeeper, there are more people in the capital who ply their trade on roadside stalls and carts. According to the Delhi Corporation rules, they are not allowed to ply their trade on the roadside. The authorities in Delhi also face traffic problems because crowds gather round these roadside vendors and vehicles are stuck in a traffic jam. Then, the shopkeepers have a complaint against these vendors. Their trade is hampered by those sitting outside or opposite their shops. It is also a question of the city's beauty. Broken town carts and dirty vendors spoil the Capital's landscape. Consequently, the Delhi Government has launched a vigorous drive against these roadside traders."



Upadhyaya has vividly described the police ill-treatment towards these poor vendors and the inferiority complex they suffered from. In the same manner as the country faces the problem of landless farmers, it faces the problem of shop less traders. We must find a solution to this problem."

3. The Jan Sangh working Committee passed a resolution to the effect that the mines in Vindhya Pradesh be nationalised without giving any compensation to the mine-owners:

"The working Committee expressed its satisfaction at the report of the Panna-Heera Mining Committee. It said that in the opinion of Jan Sangh the Government should set up a corporation with public cooperation, as suggested by the Mining Committee. The Working Committee strongly opposed giving any compensation to mine-owners and said that the leaseholders had violated clauses 48 and 51 of the Mineral Concession Rules. Accordingly, their lease should be forfeited under Clause 53."

The above incidents imply that Upadhyaya's writings do not support the widely accepted view that he, who played a decisive role in formulating Jan Sangh's economic policy, subscribed to the capitalist thought. The main objective of Deendayal's economic thinking was the establishment of an egalitarian society.

### **Economic Survey: Indianisation of Economic Policy**

Deendayal expressed his views frequently on the Government's economic policy. Generally, he did not favour aping of the West in our economic policy. He felt that our conditions are different from those prevailing in the West and we should therefore, Indianise our economic policy. Elaborating this viewpoint, he wrote:

"There are no two opinions about removing the country's poverty, but the question is how to remove this poverty? Shall we follow the path taken by America or Russian or follow the Western

nations? We must understand that whatever the differences in the economic policy among the nations of the world, they all agree on one thing. Everyone considers machines as the medium of economic development. The dominant feature of machines is to achieve the maximum productivity through the employment of minimum number of people. As a result, these countries have to look for markets abroad to sell their products. This results in imperialism and colonialism. The form may be different but whether it is Russia or America or England, they all have had to take to this path. We must concede the fact that the way to India's economic development is not through machines. India's economic development is possible through the development of cottage industries as the basis of a decentralised economy."

Upadhyaya did not think it proper that the economy should be dependent on large industries. He favoured ownership of small landholdings in agriculture. The 1959 Congress session passed a resolution on cooperative farming by imitating the Chinese model. Describing it as undesirable and unnecessary, Deendayal opposed it.

He commented on every aspect connected with the country's economy. They reveal his thoughts on economy which his researchers must consider. When the Government proposed the Nationalisation of agricultural trade, Deendayal was among the serious economists who opposed it. Such incidents were the PL 480 Law in 1960, the Gold Control Act in 1963 and the devaluation of the rupee in 1966. Deendayal was agitated over these moves. He gave expression to his humane and nationalist sentiments with convincing arguments.

He was a regular commentator on our five years plans. He wrote a well-researched book in English in 1958 on the first two five year plans, titled *Two Plans: Promises, Performances, Prospects*. This is the result of research by an economist-politician. He has used an aggressive language for attacking the government in power while analysing its economic policies.



The book not only comments on the two five-year plans but also attacks the basic premise of planning, its history and its logic. Deendayal has presented plenty of convincing data, facts and figures in support of his arguments so that it becomes a treat for those with a background of economics; it makes an interesting reading as well.

Yagyadutt Sharma says about this book: "This book was so self-introspective that the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Narayan Aggarwal issued a memorandum to the officers concerned saying that he had not come across such a factual analysis of the plan documents as Deendayal had done." Beside this, Deendayal continued commenting upon the fourth five year plan through his various articles. One requires extensive study of the subject in order to comprehend Deendayals' thinking on the various aspects of economy.

Prime Minister Nehru died while the fourth five-year plan was being drafted. He was one person who had influenced India's planning process the most. He was the one who had initiated the concept of planning in the country. One can feel the aspirations of economic development in the announcement of these plans. Nehru wanted to accelerate India's economic development in order to bring it at par with other developed nations of the world. He was pained at India's slow economic progress. He, therefore, implemented plans that gave the maximum importance to agriculture and industry. On the other hand, Deendayal was in favour of slow and steady progress so that it generated the minimum number of problems and brought out the essential Indianness of our progress in the comity of nations. And it should be achieved with the cooperation of all sections of society. He always urged that work for all should be the first priority of all five-year plans. If one races against time, it affects one's health. He was proved right but, at the same time, the results of accelerated development were there for all to see. Nehru and Upadhyaya, however, continued to disagree till the end.

The fourth plan was equally ambitious. Deendayal said it might kill the goose that laid golden eggs. He felt that the views of the

new Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri had been ignored by the Planning Commission in preparing the draft of the fourth five-year plan. He said: "The Planning Commission is still affected by its earlier thinking and it cannot come up with anything new. It is desirable that the Planning Commission be reconstituted. People who can arrive at a decision on the basis of past experience should be brought in and they should prepare the draft of the fourth plan in keeping with the views of the Prime Minister."

Lal Bahadur Shastri was not such a radical leader who would try to get the draft of the plan changed or reconstitute the Planning Commission by insisting on it. Upadhyaya has dealt with the fourth five-year plan more exhaustively and dealt with its various aspects in great detail. In this connection, he wrote five articles in Panchjanya - 'Change the Plan.' We shall study his thinking in that context.

### **The Achievements and Shortcomings of Plans**

Conceding the achievements of the first three plans, Upadhyaya said, "One cannot deny that we produce such items in the country today which had to be imported 15 years ago. Many new industries have been set up; many new cities have come up; dams and canals have been constructed. The power situation has expanded, and there has been an increase in the number of schools and hospitals. Similarly, there have been many other achievements. But one should ponder at what cost have we achieved all this ... Haven't we given rise to other problems while doing it?"

"We haven't been able to solve many problems through these plans. For instance, the shortage of foodgrains, unemployment, inflation, external debt, dependence on other nations, the rise in inequality, shortage of essential goods, investment, etc., are problems that make one doubtful about the future of the country."

**Responsibility of Planners:** Upadhyaya held the planners responsible for these problems. He took to task the Planning Commission and its shortcomings in implementing the plans.



"The Planning Commission lists many problems in its implementation of the plan targets, but the planners must take all these into account while progressing on a plan. Something which is not practicable, however enticing it may appear, is useless. Besides lack of implementation, the constitution of the Planning Commission has been responsible for all this. The planners continued to expand the public sector, keeping in view their socialist thinking. According to Upadhyaya, this was the biggest mistake they made in drafting the plans. "In the second and third plans, work in the non-governmental and small industries exceeded the targets. If this had not been possible the prevalent shortage would have been all the more worrisome. If the concept of cooperative planning, as suggested by the Commissions, had been implemented, agricultural production would have been reduced. There would have been largescale unemployment and increase in the number of landless farmers in the countryside. The Government would not have been able to muster funds for agriculture. It would have resorted to the imposition of more taxes and printing of more currency, leading to a rise in prices and inflation. Therefore, it would be wrong to blame only the implementation."

Deendayal criticised the draft of the fourth plan by marshalling wellknown facts and data. We shall present a brief account of the criticism levelled by him here:

- (A) **Non feasibility of timeframe and priority to Capital:** The earlier three plans had been described by Upadhyaya as unbearably burdensome and involving huge expenditure. The fourth plan, with an estimated outlay of Rs. 22,500 crore, he felt, would break the taxpayer's back. It was stubborn to implement such a big plan in just five years." The Planning Commission has sought to raise the required funds with a lot of ifs and buts, but it is difficult to meet all these commitments; this is simply not feasible. Defence and rehabilitation expenditure is not in our hands. Looking at the past attitude of Pakistan and China, to think that we will not have to spend

much under these heads is closing our eyes to reality. The result of such unrealistic outlays is the wide difference between targets and achievements which leads to a heavy burden on the public. This is the cause of the capitalist oriented plan. It is clear that we are not utilising our available resources for the development of the country. The basic flaw in these plans is that they are not labour-oriented."

- (B) **The Concept of a National Sector:** Upadhyaya said that the conflict between the public and the private sector should be resolved through the setting up of a national sector. He said that we must give up our attachment to the public sector because it imposed restrictions on individual entrepreneurs. That the industrialists should increase the taxbase should be planned and it is wrong to ban individual enterprise. He was wary of the Congress thinking on the issue and said: "The aim of social justice is not met till the private sector is encouraged to develop along with the expansion of the public sector and there should be a mechanism to effectively bring this about."

According to him, the fourth plan was a result of such thinking." Jan Sangh believes that the Government should put an end to this textbook distinction and work towards the establishment of a national sector. Then, every individual and organisation will be allowed to contribute to national development according to capability."

- (C) **Extensive and not limited Plan to develop small units:** Plans with heavy expenditure, capitalist outlook, heavy taxation and largescale unemployment came in for Deendayal's criticism, but he did not favour small plans in place of big ones. Keeping in mind the vastness of the country and its population, no plan would be small in size. He therefore, favoured the development of small units in a big plan, which can be chalked out on the basis of decentralisation using the available manpower. This would do away with dependence on foreign capital and lead to self-reliance in the country. The existing



plans had become the ownership of a few industrialists and the Government wherein the common man had been reduced to a worker and a victim of unemployment.

- (D) **Undesirable Facilities to Foreign Capitalists:** Under the plans, " ... Foreign industrialist have been given a choice to set up their industries in India and to choose collaborators of their choice. The overall control and a large chunk of investment is local. This condition has also been done away with. This will lead to the setting up of big industries by foreigners and the local industry will be non-existent."

" ... Our industrialists have been banned from producing certain goods. Most industries set up with foreign collaboration are controlled by them. They have retained certain Indians as 'yes men' on their board and employed some other Indians for marketing their products at exorbitant salaries.

"The foreign debt has increased so much that we require Rs.245 crore on an average per annum to pay just interest on this loan. Instead of becoming self reliant, we are becoming dependent."

Commenting on the extensive damage caused by foreign capital and mechanisation, Deendayal said: "It is just not enough to import machinery; it also requires its spare parts. The country spent an estimated Rs.3800 under this head in the third plan, which was more than the total imports during the second plan. The fourth plan has been prepared on similar lines. Shortage of foreign exchange has become a perpetual crisis for us.

- (E) **Rise in Prices and Profiteering:** "Generally traders are blamed for a rise in prices and things become cheaper if the Government controls trade ... If the trader increases the prices, who is that trader? Why should there be an increase in the price of things that the Government sells. The Government fixes the prices of things like Post Cards, envelopes, telegraph rates, rail fare, electricity and fertilisers, steel, penicillin, etc.

How come there is an increase in their prices? ... The planners are to blame for such policies."

"The draft of the fourth plan proposes that the price structure of industries should yield at least 12% profit. If the profit comes from economy in expenditure or work efficiency or scientific techniques, it is desirable, but if it comes from increasing the prices, it will be called profiteering."

- (F) **Priorities and Following the Russian Model :** Deendayal repeatedly appealed for changing production priorities. Instead of luxury goods, emphasis should be given to the production of essential goods and the plan should be central to the basic needs of the common man. The planning Commission's contention that "in order to control the prices of basic goods, the country should be prepared to face Government rules in this regard", Deendayal regarded as misplaced faith in "a magic wand and believed that, if this were implemented, the basic goods will disappear from the market and both the farmers and the traders will be finished, instead of basic goods becoming cheaper.

"We are being asked to adopt the Russian model for cooperative farming like the Suratgarh Farm. Cooperative farming has failed in Russia. It is importing wheat from America and closing down its cooperative farms. In India, we are being asked to follow the Russian model. The Planning Commission is thinking on these lines on the basis of textbook information."

- (G) **The Plight of Farmers and Middle Classes:** The priority accorded to heavy industries and the extensive plans for irrigation and agriculture have not brought any relief to farmers. At the same time, "When we talk of a reduction in prices, we have the urban consumer in mind at the expense of the farmer. Some people believe that fixed prices are below the prices of foodgrains ... As long as the farmer does not get a good price



for its produce, production will not increase; nor will there be any stability in prices ... Why has the country that fed the world been reduced to the status of a beggar? We get half of our national income from agriculture; yet we have ignored it. Instead of being diverted to the villages, capital is being diverted to the cities."

Reducing inequalities has not gone beyond mere sloganeering. The double-edged concept of socialism is dependent on the middle classes. Rampant corruption in administration, black marketing and hoarding have eaten into the vitals of planning. Neither have the Government raids been successful in this regard, nor have the facilities given by the Finance Minister proved efficacious. The rules framed in the name of control, affect the middle class traders adversely." Upadhyaya concludes, "We are not against planning but the plans are neither based on reality nor do they inspire a better work culture. He demands:

"A separate commission should be set up to examine the basic flaws in the economic policies adopted during the last 15 years."

He worked and studied diligently to associate his party with the national thinking on economy. One is surprised to find that even after all this work by Upadhyaya, people still feel that the Jan Sangh lacked on the economic front. Probably the reason for this widespread belief is that the manner in which the Jan Sangh brought to the forefront its commitment to nationalism, national unity and integrity, it could not bring the same vigour to expressing its economic policies. Emotionally, the party could not bring itself to manifest its feelings on this aspect of national life as it could on issues such as Kashmir, Goa, Berubari and others. Upadhyaya was the only one among the Jan Sangh leadership who could speak authoritatively on economic issues. The Jan Sangh used to get workers generally with an RSS background and they were not much interested in the economic issues. Still, Upadhyaya concentrated on such issues.

This again shows the responsible and academic aspect of his personality.

Deendayal was not a mere commentator on economic affairs; he was also a practical idealist.

### **Economic Thinking: Its meaning in Indian Culture**

Being an active idealist, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya did not agree with an issue that people thought was a touchstone of comprehensive national life or those who chose to accept only one side of the issue at the cost of the other aspects of life. In this connection, he wrote:

"Bharatiya Jan Sangh has clear-cut economic programmes. Our programme is such that it encompasses all aspects of Indian culture. The Western culture is materialistic, but we want to bring about a fusion of both materialism and spiritualism. It is, therefore, clear that the Jan Sangh will always lag behind those economists who prefer to go the way of materialism at the cost of other values in life. The Jan Sangh thinks of the heart, the mind and the body all at the same time. That is why some people blame that it ignores spiritualism and does not echo the thoughts of Aurobindo Ghose and other great souls. We welcome both the allegations but wish to point out that though economy is essential for the concept of society, only as much as is needed by man to fulfil his basic needs for day-to-day living, has been given prominent place in our thinking."

Elaborating his views on Indian economy, Deendayal wrote a book, entitled *India's Economic Policy: Direction to Development*. Analysing the economic policy, he has explained the concept of a complete man's economy: "Proper economic management is the elimination both of the necessity and the influence of money."

The Indian culture considers entrepreneurship as the basis of dharma: "Dharma is the basis of a comfortable life and 'dharma' cannot be sustained without 'artha'-according to this saying of Chanakya, 'dharma' is not stable without 'money'." In his first article on economy written in 1953, Upadhyaya said:



"We know that the Indian way of life has always been the path of 'dharma' not religion, and it is essential to build and develop an economic policy on the basis of this 'dharma' ... In the definition of 'dharma' according to the Vedas, there are 12 features of 'dharma', the most important being its manifestation, which is hard work. It is the first feature of 'dharma'. Marx and Engels came much after the Vedas. This was handed over to us in ancient times as a natural feature of 'dharma' ... to work hard is the basic responsibility of man. Similarly it is the duty of the state to provide this basic right to work to all its citizens ... The right to work is, therefore, constitutional right. The first duty of the state is to provide work to all its citizens in accordance with their ability, competence and aptitude. There should be no discrimination in providing this opportunity on the basis of sex, caste or colour. Whichever plan is formulated for national development its main objective should be to provide work opportunities. He always urged that all five-year plans should have this basic objective of 'Work for All'.

### **Psychology of Wealth**

Lack of money leads man to theft. Such a theft has been described as 'aapaddharma' in the scriptures.

"He (Vishwamitra) violated many tenets of 'dharma'. His conduct has been justified by scholars as 'aapaddharma'. If one is in trouble on account of lack of money, theft will become his 'dharma', i.e. 'aapaddharma' (vocation). If this malady becomes all-pervasive, people will accept it as a way of life."

In other words, lack of wealth in a society turns it from the path of dharma to adharma. "Lack of wealth also destroys 'dharma' ... When wealth in itself or what it generates in the form of luxury and self-indulgence, becomes too important, it also has an adverse effect. If everyone in society becomes materialistic, more and more money is required for everything. Such an effect of money leads to lack of wealth in life."

that everything can't be bought with money ... If we judge everything by the standard of wealth, we shall not be able to protect the poor. Physically weak will use their cunningness to earn wealth through bribery. Work cannot be measured in terms of money. Work and compensation are intimately connected in economy and it is not easy or advisable to set a universally accepted standard for determining values in society; they have to be measured by different yardsticks. Money earned through hard labour is not only honourable but a part of 'dharma' also. Similarly, the compensation handed out to a worker for the work done is also a part of one's duty to society."

Upadhyaya favoured such sociology and psychology. To work through inspiration is not profit making but the comfort of doing one's duty. He was against an economic policy that ignored the sociological and psychological aspects of human life.

"We cannot accept the unlimited ambition of people as a standard of society's safety and security ... Such an arrangement leads to the survival of the strongest, we have never accepted it as socially justifiable ... There are certain limits to man's freedom in society. Uninhibited freedom is something that belongs only to the realm of imagination. But when the restrictions are externally imposed, they are painful. Self discipline should come from one's education, culture, philosophy and idealism; they are the best teachers."

The society cannot be left to self-determining forces. It is essential to set sociological and ethical limits to the cycle of economics. That is why he says, "Self-determining and self-regulating economy is impossible. Man must look elsewhere to give it momentum and provide checks and balances for its smooth functioning. The elements that are helpful in formulating a desirable economic policy are political ambitious, man's desire for social status, love of family and many such motivations."

Upadhyaya believed that consumerism, competition and class conflict were the result of uninhibited indulgence. "The West allowed



itself to continue on the path of maximum self-indulgence and did not feel any need for reforms. The reality is that the principle of excessive self-indulgence is the root cause of man's troubles. If the craving for self-indulgence is fulfilled, it multiplies. Class conflict, which is the basis of Communist thinking, is born out of such indulgence. The Indian opinion decries class conflict. It implies that we have curbed self indulgence and have adopted the ideal of minimum, instead of maximum indulgence. The cultural function of economy is to motivate man's inborn talents for maximising production, equal distribution and limited consumption. A proper balance among these is the ideal.

The communist and the capitalist thinking has made sociology, human life, and law-making subservient to economics. The industrialisation aspect of economics has led to financial centralisation. This has mechanised human life. Upadhyaya favoured a proper balance between ethics, economics and finance. He described such a balance as a cultural duty and advocated an appropriate economic thinking.

### **Question of Ownership**

'The ownership of property issue has faced by the human civilisation since time immemorial. To accept property as a standard for complete social set-up, increased the importance of this question. The conflict between individualism and communism lent it a new perspective: Does the property belong to an individual or to society? Upadhyaya feels that the conflict between an individual and society over the ownership of property is wrong. However, he does not answer the question directly.

Every individual is a representative of society. Upadhyaya was against divesting an individual of his aura. Man is himself a member of human society. He is therefore, a legacy of the society he belongs to. Society enjoys an unquestioned ownership over all property, but the state as the sole representative of society is not an acceptable proposition to him. That is the reason why he considers

nationalisation of individual property or nationalisation of what belongs to the society as a whole wrong. Upadhyaya does not accept man's unhindered ownership of property. Nor does he accept unlimited rights of the state over individual property. He was against the centralisation of ownership rights. He, therefore, supported a decentralised state and a decentralised economy.

He said, " ... The Socialists talk of putting an end to individual ownership. It is difficult to support their contention from the viewpoints of both principles and practice. Although, the concept of everything belonging to Mother Earth and detachment has been preached since the beginning of the civilisation, the world is but one name for yours and mine. The Communists, who wished to eliminate the concept of individual ownership from its roots, gradually started accepting the concept of individualism and individual ownership to a limited extent. Even though it gives rise to many evils, we cannot give-up the idea of individual ownership, but we must set its limits."

Upadhyaya accepts the right of the state in the regulation of individual property and its role in wealth generating schemes. Where there is danger of capital falling into just a few hands, he thinks that nationalisation is a desirable alternative.

" ... As far as the cottage industries are concerned, there is hardly any danger. But when it comes to heavy industries, such a danger certainly exists. It is necessary to nationalise defence production industries. Then, there is the question of industries where huge capital is required. The ultimate aim should be to nationalise them. Today, capital-oriented industries come under the private sector. The individual monopoly of such industries should be gradually eliminated. Till their nationalisation is ultimately effected, the tendency of such industries to form groups or cartels must be curbed. Those industries which have already turned groups or cartels must be immediately nationalised. This must also be kept in mind while developing cottage industries so that industrialists do not come to monopolise them by forming groups or cartels. The reason behind inequalities and distribution in Japan is the control of capitalists over cottage industries.



Upadhyaya thought that the manner in which the Capitalists and the Communists presented the question of ownership was a result of their divided thinking. In his opinion, centralisation was a more important issue than the ownership of property. Besides, equally important was the question of consumerism. He Wrote:

"The question of limited restrictions and self-willed indulgence has been presented against a wrong background. The issue of my owning something does not give me the right to use it the way I please. Till we separate the question of ownership and it's use, we won't be able to stop the evils that they generate. Whatever I own, it is my right to use it for the good of society." We must place this viewpoint before everyone,. When the state resorts to ownership of resources, it exercises this right through the people ... The person who is not scared of using his own property as he wills, won't expend the resources of society in a similar manner this cannot be quaranteed. Those who feel that a punishment is required for stopping others from misusing the available resources, can be put into practice while granting them the right of ownership."

Deendayal Upadhyaya was against the state's right to trample upon individual rights. To him, it was reflection of a disorganised system. Unlimited rights of an individual or the state over property was also reflection of a disorganised system. he believed, "Seriously speaking, the right of ownership implies the right to use the property judiciously and within limits. These restrictions keep changing with the changing times. We will not, therefore, enter into a discussion of individual versus society as a matter of principle ... The property must be used in the interests of society, not according to individual will. Mahatma Gandhi, Guruji Golwalkar and other thinkers, have thus propounded the principle of trusteeship in this connection."

The trusteeship principle accepts every individual as a part of society. The society should not stagnate in its responsibility and this concept of responsibility should emanate from social environment. This leads to a social set up based on humane values. The lurking

evil in an individual or the atrocities committed by a state and peoples' revolt as a reaction to autocracy, are manifestations of social imbalances. Control and revolution are the weapons born out of compulsion. Their sporadic use may be termed practical but complete control and total revolution against the existing social norms cannot be justified. Cooperation between an individual and the state leads to the general good. Therefore, for Upadhyaya, joint ownership of property motivates integrated humanism.

### **Banning Capitalism**

Deendayal Upadhyaya supported democracy born out of western thought, but he believed that capitalism was a distortion of individualism. Laissez Faire was the basis of capitalism. Capitalists called free competition freedom of the individual. But Upadhyaya completely disagreed with it. He said:

"It is believed that free competition gives man the freedom to choose. This is not correct. .. The end of competition in a particular field leads to monopoly and monopolies take away the right of choice from an individual. Consequently prices, demand and fulfillment are decided not by the consumers but by the policies of the producers. This is a sort of dictatorship in the economic sphere. Because of the power that they wield and through publicity media, monopolies deprive the consumers of these rights. It is, therefore, imperative that production quotas be fixed, which is possible only through decentralisation."

Upadhyaya strongly opposed granting unlimited production rights to a handful of individuals: " ... If one persons' uncontrolled capacity for production becomes a hindrance in the path of another person, it cannot be granted. Although a big industrialist enjoys the unlimited freedom for production, he cannot deprive the small industrialist of his capacity for production. Then, the workers in his industry enjoy very limited freedom. It is essential, therefore, to regulate production."



The tendency of capitalism is to centralise financial clout into the hands of a few. Instead of social responsibility towards individuals, a capitalist emphasises centralisation of ownership. This tendency towards centralisation is seen in western industrialisation where the machine was introduced not to help the worker but to his competitor. Capitalism was strengthened by constant innovations. Upadhyaya was against indiscriminate mechanization and modernization. He said: "The emphasis on production in countries like America led to the expansion of capitalism. Newly invented machines were the instruments of this increased productivity and the owners of these instruments became the owners of production. When the owners did not get a share in the profit, they reacted to it by enunciating the concept of socialism or communism in which there was emphasis on distribution. A capitalist system generates but does not lead to a civilised life. It destroys the moral and ethical values in society and makes individuals greedy, it is a vicious cycle. The concept of economic man propounded by capitalism is misleading. Man's life has been destroyed by the concepts of consumerism and economic gain. It has created an unbridgeable gulf between labour and contentment. Instead of making man an a friend of machines, it has turned him into a mere cog in the machine. Productivity has taken the joy of creation and craft". Deendayal further said: " ... An independent measure has been turned into a factory labour. Instead of a cloth dealer, a departmental store has been created. Readymade dresses have replaced the tailor. Man has been reduced to a creature who works for eight hours and then eats for the remaining sixteen hours. A wall has been created between work and human life. In many western countries, the practice of working for five days and two days' holiday has been introduced. In these two days, man's main preoccupation is eat, drink and be merry. He lives life to the full for two days after working hard for five days in a week. We should, therefore, lay down rules for man's earnings in such a manner that there is no gulf between his work and real life. A man also possess a heart, a mind and a

body. We must keep in mind the requirements of all these three. Otherwise eight hours' work produces such an inhuman effect on an individual that he spends sixteen hours to regain his balance. Once this is accomplished, he gets busy with the same cycle of eight hours of work and sixteen hours of rest and relaxation."

### **'No' to Socialism**

Socialism came into existence in the West parallel to individualism. Ultimately, communism, aspiring to uplift the poorest of the poor, came to represent Socialism. It supports an all-powerful state and class system and like capitalism, lays emphasis on industrialisation and centralisation. Upadhyaya was all praise for socialistic principles, but was completely against the concept of the state as well as industrialisation.

Socialism puts an end to extreme individualism. It favours a change in the system rather than the individual; it considers individualism as an outcome of social disorders. It is its insistence on system that eventually leads it towards statehood. Upadhyaya considered the individual versus society conflict wrong. No system can ignore the individual and no individual can ignore a system. He favoured a social system which complemented the individualism:

" ... The real cause of evil is man, not the system. Man comes first in any scheme of things. An evil person can infiltrate the best of systems and can spread evil there. Any social tradition or custom was started by a well-meaning individual. But when an evil person enters a system, he can vitiate the best of the systems ... What is the guarantee that if we replace an individual who spreads evil in his own domain by a state representative, the latter would not allow the perpetuation of evil? We should therefore, concentrate on awakening the good in the individual and his sense of duty."

The tendency of centralisation subdues an individual's sense of duty; it generates a workers instinct in him. Labour leads to compulsion. It does not consist of self-satisfaction derived from a sense of duty. Upadhyaya believed that socialism contains all the



evils of centralised capitalism. He, therefore, criticised both socialism and capitalism thus:

"There is no difference in the present forms of socialism and capitalism except the concept of ownership. Both of them do not provide any opportunity to an individual for self-development. Both the systems claim ownership of the state in the name of security." Upadhyaya elaborated: "The Capitalist system first takes over the economy before taking over the state whereas the socialist system makes the state absolute owner of all products. Both the systems are against the democratic rights and healthy development of an individual."

Upadhyaya considered the tendency for centralisation inhuman. "The cultural background of each individual in society as well as nature puts an end to the association of the creator with his creation and turns man mechanical. Centralised systems do not consider man as an individual but compartmentalise him as 'types' and treat him accordingly. Such systems have no place for man's exceptional gifts and diverse talents. As a result, instead of working towards his improvement and upliftment, they turn him into a mere cog in the machine. Man's individualism dies. Decentralisation alone suits our present circumstances." He considered centralised industrialisation and its proponents - the capitalists and the socialists - anti-man. He, therefore, programmed the theory of all round development of man as a single, unified entity leading to a democratic economy. According to him, socialism and capitalism were both against the tenets of democracy and our culture.

## **Democratic Economy**

Deendayal did not consider democracy as only a form of political government. He believed that the success of democracy lay in work for everyone. Elaborating his theory of work for all, he said: "The work should, first of all, provide livelihood and, second, a man should be free to choose his area of work. If he does not get a just part of the national income for his work, it will be worthless.

From this point of view, minimum wages, fair distribution and social security in one form or another are essential. He further said:

"As 'non-employment' is worthless in our opinion, similarly a man's inability to produce according to his capability is worthless. Under-employment is also a sort of evil".

Upadhyaya considered such a democracy undemocratic as it did not allow freedom of production and harmed the process of creativity of an individual. A worker who does not remain master of his own production sells his independence. Political and economic freedom are inextricably connected in a political democracy. An individual who is free economically is the one who can express his opinion freely. Otherwise, man becomes a slave to money."

The greatest assault on man's freedom to produce has come from capitalist industrialisation. It will have to be regulated so that it does not spell the death knell of small and cottage industries. "Today, we think of all round development and accept the need for protection. This protection will have to be given to the nation's industries competing with global industries and to the smaller industries from the larger industries." Upadhyaya felt that imitation of western industrialisation pushed back India's traditional industries and encouraged middlemen. " ... We have blindly copied the western technical processes. Our industries are not developing on their own. Such techniques are not a part of our system; they have been imposed upon us. They have been developed by foreign industrialists from abroad. That is why most industrialists in India belong to the class of speculators and commission agents. Artisans have not progressed in our industries and crafts."

Any country's industrialisation that ignores artisans and craftsmen is undemocratic. Upadhyaya did not subscribe to the concept of private and public sector controversy. Both of them have throttled individual enterprise. For an economic democracy, it is essential that individual entrepreneurship should be encouraged and developed. For this, decentralisation is necessary:



"In the body politic the same way as power is granted to the people through decentralisation, economic decentralisation should also be implemented. In a political democracy, an individual gets all the opportunities to develop his political acumen. Similarly, in an economic democracy opportunities should be provided for an individual's economic development, not to crush it. .. The same way as dictatorship destroys man's creativity in politics, large-scale industrialisation destroys individual enterprise. That is why, like dictatorship, such industrialisation is undesirable."

Upadhyaya sets limits on mechanised industrial action thus; "If we accept the principle of work for all, we define limits of fair and equitable distribution and move towards decentralisation. It is wrong to accept industrialisation as our ultimate objective. We can define it mathematically thus:  $J \times K \times Y = E$ ".

'J' here represents Jan, i.e., the people, 'K' stands for Karma, i.e. action (both in individual capability and the system), 'Y' for Yantra, i.e. machinery and 'E' for effective social aims and objectives. 'E' and 'J' are fixed; we have to decide on the proportion between 'E' and 'J' and 'K' and 'Y'. If industrialisation is our objective, 'Y' controls all the other elements. 'J' is reduced in proportion to 'Y'. In proportion to 'Y', 'E' has to follow mechanisation for increased production. The economy that controls 'E' is dictatorship. We should, therefore, plan 'K' and 'Y' in proportion to 'J' and 'E'. Only that can be called a democratic and humane economy.

### **'No' to Heavy Industrialisation**

In view of the centralisation of production of heavy industries, and priority to mechanisation in order to meet their demand and supply, heavy industries become dictatorial and inhuman. In his writings, Upadhyaya has comprehensively dealt with this aspect. We present here the main issues raised by him:

1. Since they are foreign to traditional Indian economy, they will have to be transplanted here. This will adversely affect the balance of society.

2. An independent producer goes against the grain of the artisan. It is, therefore, undesirable.
3. This is also against the principle of work for all. Industries increase unemployment.
4. Heavy industries are capitalist - oriented. They are, therefore, beyond the capacity of an average Indian industrialist.
5. Such industries are heavily dependent on exports. They, therefore, put a heavy burden on our balance of payments situation.
6. They do not match the available management and workers' training of our country.
7. They make the worker leave his family, community and rural background and make him a part of an artificial, burdensome environment that is devoid of any human values. Man is reduced to a mere labourer in such a work environment; all his other values are destroyed. Instead of developing his personality, man becomes a victim of social aberrations and evils. Indian culture does not match such an environment.
8. We have to pay heavily in terms of social values. As a result of urbanisation, serious problems like housing, health, etc., arise.
9. The production and management processes of heavy industries are complicated; they do not ensure even short-term gains. The return on the capital invested is also less.
10. Since heavy industries are not aligned with agriculture, they give rise to exploitative and complex middlemen and agencies.
11. The organisation of labour in industry and its rules have made labour costly and irresponsible ... Gradually, the situation is coming to a pass that industrial capital and labour together will be able to exploit the consumer.



12. Our labour policy will adversely affect agriculture because of the large-scale influx of workers into cities. The countryside will lag behind both in numbers and quality.
13. The circumstances under which the western nations established industries are not available to us. They had extensive colonial markets where they could sell their finished products without any competition and import raw materials and food grains at cheaper rates. They could accumulate capital by paying lower wages to their workers. Even then, it took them 150 years to develop.
14. The concentration of heavy industries at one place and their tendency to localise them create countrywide problems in their development. Sixty-six per cent of India's organised labour is concentrated in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The development of certain parts of the country gives rise to dissatisfaction and poses a danger to our national unity and integrity.
15. As a result of heavy industries, many powerful groups are formed that soon start controlling the country's politics.
16. Heavy industries give rise to social inequalities and lead to class conflict.

Besides all these, there is another dangerous prospective to heavy industries. Local industrialists soon become friendly with the foreign capital investors. This, Upadhyaya felt, did not bode good for the country. He believed:

"We should not industrialise our nation on the basis of foreign capital. Besides its political implications, its economic implications are also evil. Foreign capital investment exploits Indian labour ... Heavy industries and foreign investment will create conditions like the exploitation of labour in the West where the local capital will exploit local labour ... The entry of all the evils of capitalism in our society will be against our culture."

Upadhyaya considered it wrong that the competition among newly developed nations was based on faulty foundations of capitalism. In his opinion, it would be better to base our policies on the prevailing social conditions and practical considerations rather than bookish principles. Centralisation of economic and production powers is an enemy of social and individual freedom. We must move away from the cut throat competition of the west.

### **Self-Reliant Industrial Policy**

Although he was against heavy and imposed industrialisation. Deendayal was in favour of industrial development.

"Ancient sages have written about commerce, artisanship and industry that they should be self-reliant. We should not be dependent on others for essential goods, we should resort to exports only in case of surplus production".

"We should formulate an industrial policy based on the principle of self-reliance. Following are the desirables of an industrial policy:

1. It should strive towards providing work for all.
2. It should help in the decentralisation of production instead of centralisation.
3. It should be developed in close cooperation with the workers' and the artisans' tools.
4. It should complement India's agricultural and rural sectors.
5. It should not allow exodus from the villages and industries should be self-reliant and self-contained.
6. It should not be harmful to human values.
7. The industrial policy should be people-and-labour oriented, not machine-oriented. Machinery should be developed as an aid to worker's labour.

Upadhyaya suggested the following measures for curbing profiteering and monopoly:

1. Corporatisation,



2. Parliamentary control,
3. Equal participation of workers in management, and
4. Economic policy for decentralisation.

Upadhyaya quotes S.S. Thakkar while facing the challenge of developing the desired industrial policy for development. Delivering the presidential address at the Madras session of the Indian Science Congress, Thakkar had said:

"We have got inspiration from abroad so far. We have imported machines, industries, specialists and workers from abroad. Maybe this was required under the circumstances. As a result, all the heavy industries in India are based on the western model. There are hardly any industries developed in the country. We will get generous aid from the west. We shall get knowledge, science and goodwill from wherever it is available. But we will have to collect and assimilate all this knowledge like a bee collecting honey from various flowers and mould it in accordance with our needs and objectives in order to develop an industrial policy we may call our own. The responsibility for this lies with the Indian scientists and planners."

### **Man and Machine**

Upadhyaya was against the precedence of machine over man. He was against mechanisation of industry to augment production, but he supported the machines that made man's work easier and made him self-reliant. He said:

"On the one hand we find the devotees of machines, while on the other there are those who are opposed to their use. The former believes that the cause of India's poverty is lack of modernisation while the latter blame machines and industrialisation as the root cause of all our ills. In reality, machine is neither a friend nor a foe of man. It is a medium whose usefulness depends on many social factors and action-reaction among several forces." We should not ape the West in the matter of mechanisation. He justifies his stance thus:

"The machines we get from the West have been developed there over several centuries. They are selling them in the market today by modifying them. We purchase them, but forget that they are not the reason for, but a result of development." Upadhyaya favoured the development of machines in keeping with the local conditions instead of their being imposed on us. "We require easy-to-operate tools to aid and complement the work of our artisans and craftsmen. We are against making capitalists monopolise production." He said: "If the machine does not conform to our traditions and culture, it should not at least work against them."

In this way, Upadhyaya was neither a follower nor a critic of mechanisation. He did not wish the machine to have an upper hand over our society and economy. If this comes about, centralisation sets in. Centralisation leads to the evils inherent in both capitalism and communism. In order to avoid a situation full of tension, he strongly urged that we should move in the direction of a decentralised economy, cottage industries and indigenous small machinery.

### **Decentralised Economy**

Decentralised administration is very essential for a decentralised economy. Upadhyaya thus supported self-reliant village panchayats and the ancient Janpad systems. Village and Janpads should form the centres of our economy. Deserting villages will result in the destruction of the country's economy; expansion and development of cities will prove harmful to national integration. We cannot escape the reactionary cycle of capitalism while centralising our resources and administration. Therefore, we require a decentralised economy for decentralised administration. This will be beneficial for Indian conditions. He therefore, said:

"... We require decentralised economy. We must develop the self-employed sector. The bigger this sector is, the better will be the development of man and one person will be able to think of another. Keeping in mind individual requirements and talents, we can develop his personality. Only India can give such an economy



to the world." Economies, which have once been overwhelmed by the vicious cycle of capitalism and centralisation, are difficult to be rectified. In the third world, therefore, village-oriented and cottage industries-oriented decentralised economy should be adopted.

"Decentralisation resolves the problems born out of excessive centralisation. Capitalism is born out of excessive centralisation. When the people do not get an opportunity to produce on a large scale, how will the capital get accumulated? This will not only lead to greater self-reliance in villages but also inspire man to produce quality goods in greater numbers. In ancient times, cottage industries produced goods of higher quality that machines are not able to do today. The scope offered by cottage industries to arts and crafts is not available through the use of machines. The manner in which political democracy operates at the level of village panchayats and other units and rises vertically, in the same manner decentralisation of economy at the level of village and small industries should rise vertically in a democracy. Centralised economy is a part of Communism. Its roots are in the sky but its economy operates at the grassroots level."

According to Upadhyaya, there should not be complete decentralisation of heavy industries. He wanted heavy industries to be dependent upon small industries:

"Productivity-based goods should be produced by heavy industries while small industries should produce consumer goods ... Second, we should produce consumer goods in small factories in the same manner as various parts of a watch are manufactured by small units in Switzerland and then assembled in their watch factories. Motor vehicles are such other goods whose small parts can be manufactured by small units. Lots of work has been done in Japan in this direction. In that country 77% of the goods used in railways, 70% in shipbuilding, 62% in motor vehicles are manufactured by small units .. If we can establish these two categories of industries, competition in industry will be reduced to a large extent."

Deendayal did not subscribe to the view that small industries are not profitable from the economic point of view. He believed that the profitability of heavy industries is a myth. The real profit comes from small industries:

" ... It is a fact that profitability comes from more production, not large scale production. If we look at history, even though cloth was produced on a large scale in Britain, Indian cloth was cheaper there. The Japanese goods which push out the rest because of their lower costs are not produced in large industries, but small households, there ... If we remove the bottlenecks faced by small industries and rationalise the facilities made available to heavy industries, it is certain that small industries will score over them. We know that during 1930-37 small motor vehicle operators had left behind railroad. If the government and the war had not come to the rescue of railroads, it would have been difficult for them to survive."

The profitability of big industries is a myth. Supporting his contention, Upadhyaya said:

"We know that banks, railways, middlemen, etc., are available to big industries ... while small industries are so unorganised that they cannot evolve a reliable system of procuring raw materials and selling finished goods in the market. Once they are successful in building this chain, it will be difficult to compete with small industries. It is the duty of the state to form such an organisation."

Upadhyaya was very hopeful of the sentiments behind setting up small industries. He said, " ... Small industries sector which had once shrunk in size, has expanded today. The goods we could not imagine could be produced on a small scale and are of good quality based on sound economic footing. Recently, according to a report from China, even steel is produced by small industries. This has extended the potential of small industries."

Even though small and cottage industries dominate a decentralised economy, large industries cannot be ignored. Upadhyaya recognised the importance of large industries. He



suggests two methods so that there is no centralisation of economy: 1. Regulation by the administration, and 2. Arrangement of workers' participation. In this connection, he considered the long-held beliefs of the private and the public sector impractical. In this context, he opined:

" ... It is not advisable to hold on to prejudices and traditional thinking. World Bank Chairman Mr. Black had said at the summit of the world's top industrialists in October 1957, "I am equally wary of those who propagate that capitalism can meet all the global requirements, as I am of communists who claim that the public sector can alone meet all our requirements. The under-developed third world countries, both from the point of view of governance and economy, have their own limitations ... It is said that the rarest commodity in the least developed countries is an industrialist who can take risks. In such circumstances, the state itself has to step in. Many nations, who ran miles away from Communism, set up their own industries. Therefore, there should be a practical yardstick that the state should enter such areas where the private sector is unable to enter. However, the main objective of the state is not profit-making." But wherever such investors are available, Upadhyaya said, the state should regulate their entry and they should be subjected to parliamentary control.

The biggest aberration of large industries is their belief in the ownership of capital and considering workers as mere labour. Upadhyaya wanted the ownership of large industries to be decentralised among workers, management and shareholders.

"As we have accepted the productivity in agriculture on immovable assets like land (the land belongs to the tiller), why not accept the ownership of workers in an industry? It is surprising that in many industries, a shareholder, who mostly has no other association with the industry except earning his dividend, enjoys the rights of ownership whereas the workers who constantly put in their labour and increase production through their skills and whose livelihood solely depends on that industry, feels alienated from their

workplace. This sort of apathy to the workers' interests is not proper. It is, therefore, necessary that the worker should also enjoy equal ownership rights with the shareholder. He must also be made a part of profit-sharing. Representatives of workers must be made a part of the management."

Upadhyaya felt that decentralisation was the crux of the problem. Through decentralisation we could achieve social justice, the spirit of swadeshi and self-reliance. He believed: "If any two words in the present circumstances could describe the direction our economy should take, they are decentralisation and swadeshi."

The main stumbling block in such a formulation was the lack of political will and misleading faith in the economic policies of Socialism and Capitalism-related western nations. Upadhyaya, however, felt that the lack of political will at home as well as vested interests were a major hindrance in this direction.

" ... The interests of many people in India are tied to the western economic thought and production processes. The sort of economy that has developed in India during the past one hundred years has made India and the West complementary to each other. This has not protected India's interests but has constantly exploited them. In this process, foreign capitalists have made some of their Indian counterparts their collaborators. Initially, as traders and commission agents and later as independents or partners, Indian industrialists came to be a part of foreign exploiters. And this class has always dominated the country's economy. Even today, although their contribution to the national income is not very significant, this class of people, only a handful in numbers, exercise a major influence on the country's life. Their ambitions are well-defined. They wish to replace most of their foreign collaborators."

They are naturally drawn to Indian experts on western economy. All the Indian newspapers, especially those in English, come under their influence. All these come together to generate



myths that the common man finds it difficult to get out of it." Leaders who want miraculous, short-term gains also identify with them. In this context, Upadhyaya said:

" ... Foreign aid, the views of foreign experts and the enticing outward appearance of the western way of life, combined with the miraculous short-term gains to get political mileage, soon take these leaders away from the realities of daily life; they are unable to identify and solve local problems." Upadhyaya said that no local problems could be solved unless our leaders identified the 'swa' or self aspect of India.

Upadhyaya's economic thinking is all embracing. He was against viewing man as just an economic creature. In this sense, his economic thinking was idealistic. But so that this did not become impractical, he dealt with the ground reality and day-to-day problems at the same time.

Instead of subscribing to a particularism Deendayal subscribed to the time-tested values of Indian life and not to keep on changing with the changing times. About his book, *Indian Economic Direction for Development*, he wrote:

"As the name of the book suggests, only a direction that our economy should take has been pointed out. A broad outline for India's development has been presented. To fill in these outlines and give it shape, will be the work of man and nature. As soon as this is done, the task will be complete. It is our duty to replace our curiosity with hard work for nation building and development."

The world is facing the threat of a third world war. Economic imperialism has taken the place of political imperialism. It is difficult to match the aspirations of exploited societies with the modern western techniques. Even though they wish, the third world countries today find it difficult to break away from imperialist economy. They are forced to provide markets to imperialists even though people at home are starving. Western techniques and expertise rule local economy. Some of them create islands of influence. The deprived

common man is ignored. Leadership mediocre and inadequately educated people have fulfilled the aspirations and vested interests of western economy to some extent. Consequently, a cultural chaos, political instability and economic slavery are being created and encouraged."

Upadhyaya's economic thinking is oriented towards man and society. His concept of a cultural economy appears judicious and prudent too, but the vested interests that he has described, is it possible to control them on the basis of our inherent instincts? The misuse of democratic human rights had given birth to capitalism. Upadhyaya accepted regulation by the Government, but not complete control. He has not elaborated on parliamentary monitoring and vested self-interests leading to social conflicts in his writings. His analysis is creative rather than legislative. It is true that conflict cannot be the basis of any philosophy, but it is difficult to bypass day-to-day problems that we face. Upadhyaya's argument was: "Inherent values, education, enlightened public opinion and regulation are the guidelines. We should work within these parameters. "He had infinite faith in the superiority of man over everything else".



## His Vision of Integrated Humanism

**D**eendayal Upadhyaya was a luminary of the second half of the 20th century when many streams of thought were prevalent. After the European Renaissance of the 16th century, there was new thinking all over the world. The world that we saw and experienced was no longer a puzzle or mystery. Adventurers had circumscribed the globe. Science, materialism and humanism had posed a challenge to spiritualism and the mysterious existence of God. Science attacked mystery and the long-held beliefs were shaken through argument and the faith in God now depended on one's ethical and moral values. Secularism, individual democracy and socialism had challenged theocracy. Europe had undergone a complete transformation.

Devoid of God's presence and fear, man planned to conquer the world and nature. Adventure led to the discovery of new lands and the establishment of European colonialism in many hitherto unexplored parts of the world. Nationalism became a casualty to imperialism.

The western knowledge and science reached the Asian and African continents through the medium of imperialism. There was a decisive change in the thinking of these countries through the influence of the west, but the Asian humanism considered imperialism along with Western thought as an assault on its self-pride. It, therefore, negated western thought. Deendayal was a product of this Indian way of thinking.

Deendayal Upadhyaya's making was that of an ascetic. We

quote here extensively an excerpt from Norman D. Palmer of Pennsylvania University:

"I was impressed by his diverse intellectual interests as well as his sobriety, modesty, humility and self-confidence, ability and humane qualities. When I came into contact with him for a short while, I became aware of his many qualities that his associates point out. His temperament manifested itself to those who came in contact with him. We are often told that he was kind, sober and simple; he was devoid of all conceit and selfishness. He led an exemplary life; he was a curious reader and a constant learner. He was an able organiser, but was not interested in becoming a political leader. He was a true democrat and original thinker. He possessed a rich modern vision and his thoughts were all-comprehensive. In short, he was a multi-faceted personality."

Palmer counted him among the great political thinkers of the world and said:

"Deendayal Upadhyaya belongs to a rare breed of political thinkers; the likes of him are very few. His image as an original political thinker was gradually gaining strength. In addition to his belonging to a large political party in India, Deendayal possessed a distinctive image that first attracted me to him."

Among the modern thinkers, Deendayal identified himself with the thoughts of Vivekanand, Tilak and Aurobindo Ghose. He also quoted from Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave, but not extensively. The book that influenced him most was *Daishik Shastra* published by the Tilak Memorial Committee. It is a collection of Indian thought from Vedic Literature to Vedant Darshan in the context of social thinking. Upadhyaya wrote about this book as under:

"It is imperative today to make the people aware that India can also contribute a lot to the material world. Forty years ago, the late Badrishah Duldhariya published a book entitled, '*Daishik Shastra*' after learning about these principles from Shri 108 Somwari Babaji Maharaj, a sage who had come out of his long meditation



and could look into the future. The book was inspired by Lokmanya Tilak's *Karmayog Shastra*. By interpreting Karmayog, the Lokmanya brought India from the spiritual into the material world. He brought out the Indian truths from the Himalayan caves and made them available to the common man on the roadside.

'*Daishik Shastra*' has elaborated the national code of ethics. Lokmanya has himself appreciated the manuscript and its treatment of the subject matter. It can safely be said that both the books, '*Karmayog Shastra*' and '*Daishik Shastra*' complement each other. Every individual engaged in the task of nation-building must study them."

After a study and experience of two decades, Upadhyaya formulated his concept of Integrated Humanism and brought it into the preamble of Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Quoting Shankaracharya and Chanakya in the preface, he said:

"One remembers two thinkers who brought about a radical change in Indian history. One is reminded of the times when Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya started off to put an end to the chaos prevailing in the eternal Hindu faith and the other is when, propounding the idea of republics to bring together the scattered Nationalistic forces, Chanakya set off to establish an empire. Looking back on these developments, a third outline has emerged today when, inspired by foreign thought and its vague concept of a divided man, the pure and unadulterated Indian concept of integrated humanism is being started anew by us." Deendayal included in his vision of the complete man Shankaracharya's Vedant, Kautilya's *Arthshastra* and his own ideas in order to evolve and establish a new vision for India and Indians. Under the ancient vision come *Ekadash Upanishad*, *Shrimad Bhagwad Gita* and *Vyas's Brahmsutra*.

Deendayal rose above caste system and conflicts and chose the annual RSS meditation camps to present his ideas. This gradually developed his line of thinking, which was a part of the exercises undertaken by Bharatiya Jan Sangh cadres. This line of thought emerged sequentially on two occasions. First, from August 11 to

15, 1964 at the Gwalior training camp of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh where Upadhyaya presented the outline of 'Principles and Policies'. Second, from April 22 to 25, 1965 at Mumbai where he delivered four continuous lectures on his vision of integrated humanism. But a large part of his legacy has been inbuilt into the intellectual thinking of the Sangh's educational cadres that Deendayal trained for about two decades and most of it is not available.

Deendayal could not put up with the prevailing dependence on western thought after independence. This led to his thinking on Indian lines. Expressing his strong opposition to such dependence, he wrote in the preface to 'Principles and Policies': "Instead of ruling the country in a well-planned and well-defined direction, the rulers and the rules have become victims of mis-leading thoughts and apathy. Lack of faith and self-confidence is unhealthy; it is full of dangers and is unbecoming. We must replace it with awakening the spirit of active nationalism."

"The chief reason for not facing the reality in the nation today is the attempt to impose foreign and alien models of thinking and values. In the eagerness for quick progress, we have negated 'Swa', i.e., ourselves. This has frustrated the national psyche."

It was this frustration that challenged the inherent philosopher in Deendayal Upadhyaya. His associate Dattopant Thengdi wrote about the challenges of human values that Upadhyaya faced. "Man today faces many basic and starting problems. For example,

### **How to Harmonise**

- Individual liberty with social responsibility;
- Need for individual development with the concept of an egalitarian society;
- Social justice with economic development;
- Diversity of human life with basic human values;
- 'State' rights with industrial and societal administration.
- Social system with nationhood.



- Self-discipline with self-enlightenment;
- Ethical values with wisdom, awareness and limitations;
- Materialistic advancement with spiritual values;
- General outlook with specialised knowledge;
- General self-reliance with international cooperation; and
- Selfless freedom of thought and expression.

### **How to Arrive at**

- Discipline without militarisation;
- Status without special rights;
- Unity in diversity
- Unity without momentum;
- Action without risk;
- State's rights without using its power;
- Industrial development without loss of human values;
- A social system without centralisation.

There are also many problems at the national level such as:

### **How to Harmonise**

- Increased employment opportunities with the latest production technology;
- Increase production with decentralised production processes;
- Our cultural background with national development;
- Micro planning at the local level with macro planning at the national level;
- Establish individual identity while keeping intact our ethnic communities;
- Indian values with modern scientific and technological advances; and
- Prevailing global thinking with our time-tested values and way of life.





*RSS flag hoisting in Kenya*





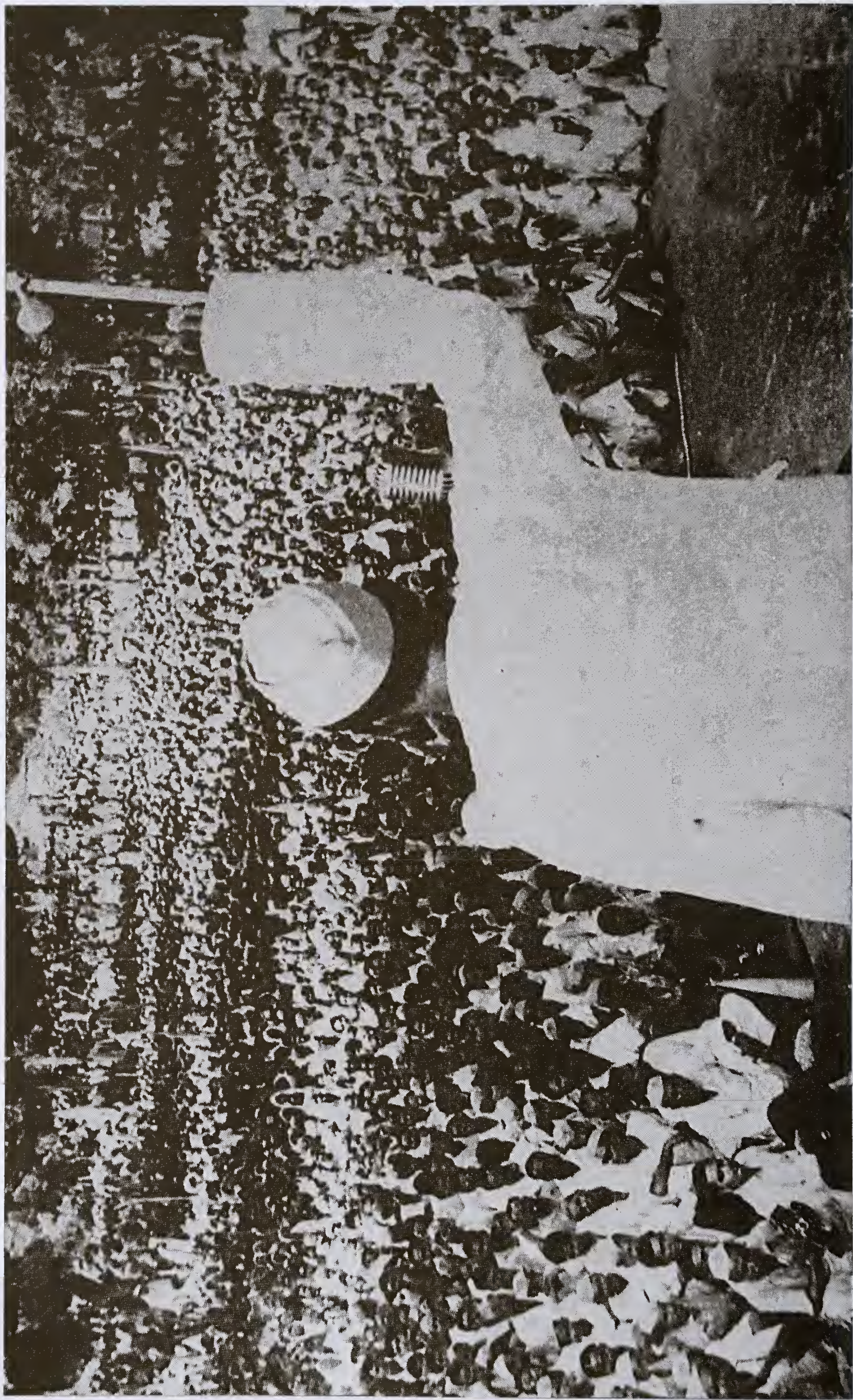
*Inaugurating the Calicut session of Bharatiya Jan Sangha, 1967*





*With elected MPs of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, 1967*





*As leader of the masses*



## How to Achieve

- A world Government without destroying various cultures and develops with their active cooperation; and
- Humanism that is developed and enriched with the overall unity of various faiths and beliefs.

"Panditji believed that these basic problems could not be solved without resorting to 'Indianism'.

These problems are as alive today as they were in Deendayal Upadhyaya's times. Basically, we can divide these issues into four parts.

First, the problem of harmonising self-contradictory natural factors; second, harmonising the sociological aberrations with a humane system; third, the contradictions inherent in the Indian situation; and fourth, the establishment of a World Government and a humane faith. These are the challenges facing man today. These were the challenges were that led Upadhyaya to think and generate his outlines. There are symptomatic of the maladies for the resolution of which Upadhyaya presented his philosophical theory of Integrated Humanism.

These problems can be faced on the basis of Indian philosophy. Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi elaborates this thinking of Upadhyaya in one of his articles:

"The essence of Indian culture accepts the diversity present in the universe. In ancient times, the Indian sages propounded the principle of one that is a part of the universe as complete in itself. What is complete is a part of the whole; the part and the whole are, in other words, complementary to each other. .. The creation of a society based on Indian thinking ... is capable of resolving the modern conflicts."

## Background to Thinking

Integrated humanism has two aspects. First, the western Philosophy and second, the Indian Culture. 'Humanism' is basically



a western concept whereas 'Integrated' is Indian. The physical world is dominated by western thinking. It can, therefore, be said that Indianisation of western humanism leads to the process of Integrated humanism.

(A) **Western Philosophy:** The manner in which the West has suffered from the tyranny of dictatorships and inhuman religious rule, resulted in a strong reaction which was inevitable. Therefore, there is a dichotomy in the life in Europe before and after Renaissance. Respect for humanity as opposed to the rule by religion, respect for individual sentiment as opposed to uncontrolled social system, respect for a secular state against religious universalism, respect for spirit of human adventure against divine providence, respect for logical against mysterious truths and research into established social conventions are all parts of the story of European Renaissance and birth of Humanism.

The religious fanaticism of western life turned its spiritual aspect mystical, ritualistic and hypocritical so that, as a reaction, the western thought also became materialistic and dull. This materialism pushed it towards unfeeling mechanisation and turned it reactionary. That is why humanism is the culture of European Renaissance and monotony its aberration. The aberration of individualism is capitalism; the aberration of imperialism is fascism and Nazism, the aberration of originality is mechanisation, and, the aberration of ethics and research is unlimited consumerism.

Deendayal accepted the superiority of western life. But he was aware of its aberrations because he felt that in their tone of westernism, people were ignoring its aberrations and were turning India into a prototype of the west. This led to confusion in society. In this connection, he wrote:

"After Gandhiji, the people who came to power in India could not understand the Indian idiom and sentiment. Nor could they uphold the dream he could call his own ... We saw our entire

life and its problems through British spectacles. Consequently, our politics, economics, social system, literature and culture acquired an imprint of the British. Different political parties, whether they are socialists or non-socialists, have been influenced by western thought and they wish to move India into a western prototype in one form or another."

Upadhyaya believed that even the good aspects of the West lack the spirit of mutual give-and-take. "Nationalism, democracy, socialism or egalitarian socialism-all lack the basic spirit of equality: Equality is different from egalitarianism; it may be considered a synonym of equitability. All the three tendencies have affected European politics but none of them is complete in itself. Not only this, each of these becomes harmful to another in its practical approach. Nationalism poses a threat to world peace. Democracy was born out of its suitability with capitalism. Socialism came in the wake of the end of capitalism, and democracy and individualism became its casualties. The question before the west today, therefore, is how to strike a balance among the good aspects of all these ways of thought."

That is why Upadhyaya was against a blind imitation of the West. But he wished to honour human endeavour and wanted to make use of the new innovations. He wanted to base all these amended thoughts, not on western beliefs but on justifiable basis of experiments in humanism.

"Global knowledge is our legacy. The experience of humanity is our property. Science is not the monopoly of any particular country or global movement. It will also come to our aid and rescue in our regeneration." He did not wish to imitate the progressive 'results' achieved by the West. Why was the western thought not acceptable to him? One can pinpoint the reasons as under:

1. Western thought is dependent only on the faculties of knowledge. The faculties of knowledge do not give us



complete knowledge, which comes of meditation. Our sages looked within and came across all-comprehending knowledge. Our central idea is completeness, while that of others is one-sided.

2. The question raised by the West about the supremacy of man over society is wrong. Man and society are indivisible.
3. The belief in the conquest of nature smacks of self-pride. Neither is to be worshipped like the mother. It should not be indiscriminately exploited. The results of self-pride in having conquered nature, are capitalistic exploitation and socialist dictatorships.
4. The principle of survival of the fittest has, from the sociological point of view, led to the law of the jungle' in society. That competition and strife lead to development is the result of this wrong notion. This is rude. The development of civilisation means that even the weakest should be able to survive. The state was established to ensure this. So that the strong should not finish the weak, we must establish a social system and rule of the law.
5. The dual concept of 'God' and 'Satan' comes from the Bible. Both Marx and Darwin were guided by this dual concept. Its byproducts were party-based democracy and class conflict.
6. The West has ignored the spiritual aspect of man and made him self-centred. Their politics, sociology and economics are all driven by self-interest. They have also accepted humanitarian values on this basis. The belief in "honesty is the best policy" is an instance.
7. The West is guilty of imperialist exploitation of the new world. The Industrial Revolution in Europe was successful on account of imperialist exploitation and domination. Whoever copies the West will have to adopt exploitative industrialisation.

8. National 'state', 'constitutional' state and socialism are all states. These concepts destroyed the informal socio-cultural systems. Politics became all-grabbing.
9. The Western thought is reactionary. The existence of a temporal state within the Church, humanism as a reaction to godliness, unfettered social system leading to individual exploitation and consequent reaction nurtured socialism. It, therefore, does not represent man's legislative ethical values. It negates human positivism born out of reactionary circumstances in society. Religion has played a decisive role in humanising man. The negation of spiritualism or the mystique attached to God are extreme reactions, which have made the West monotonous and stagnant.
10. Materialism cannot inspire equality, fraternity and brotherhood. That is why Mezzini's imaginary Humane European Nationalism has not come into practice even today and Europe, America and Russia have divided imperialism into blocs.

The above analysis of the West is in keeping with modern Gandhian thought. The famous Western Gandhian, Wilfred Wilcock has written about Gandhi:

"Gandhiji criticised the western civilisation because it turned man into a machine for the sake of individual power and capitalism, and exploited him in that manner. This leads to the birth of such society that mutually conflicting interests, on account of their opposing ideals, are involved in a bloody revolution. Out of this materialism, the tendency to meet the constant supply-and-demand needs leads to international tensions, and eventually world war and global revolution."

Upadhyaya, while viewing the dark side of the west, was not unaware of its bright side. The ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the basis of ethics and research, and the adventurous experimentation are all pointers to the superiority earned by the West. There are many reasons for the West not having attained such superior values.



Upadhyaya conceded that the main reason is that they have accepted self-indulgence as the only means of attaining their objectives. Consequently, this tendency led to a conflict of interest among the ideals enshrined in western thought. We should, therefore, deal with the West on an equal footing. We should experiment with our 'self' and cultural values and make them a part of our efforts for human development, instead of depending on others. He, therefore, said:

"We should certainly adopt something from the West, but the world is not in such a state so as to provide us some guidance. It is itself on the crossroads. We cannot, therefore, expect any guidance from the West. We should think whether we are in a position to contribute to global development in its present state. We should assess the global situation and then decide whether we can give it anything by becoming its integral part. We should not be guided only by self-interest in associating ourselves with global development. If we possess anything that can prove beneficial to the world, we should readily give it without second thought. In this age of adulteration, we should not accept any adulterated thought, but should amend it and analyse it before adopting it. We must ponder over what our tradition and culture can give to the world."

(B) **Indian Culture:** There is a long tradition of Indian culture. Comparing Asia and Europe, Shri Aurobindo wrote: "Europe lives in centuries; Asia lives in ages ... Europe is divided into nations, Asia into civilization and culture. There is one civilization in the whole of Europe; it emanates from one source which is outdated and borrowed. Asia has three civilizations, each of which is original and permanent. Everything in Europe is small and short-lived, it has not discovered the secret of immortality. Today, the peaks of science, philosophy, civilizations etc., that Europe is climbing breathlessly, these very heights have been achieved by Asia long ago. But then there was slackness, but not decay and destruction."

Aurobindo wrote about India further: "There is no other country in the history of the world that has demonstrated such

unprecedented resilience even after being crushed under a foreign power for such a long time. This ethical strength, this capability to reach at the root of the matter, complete control over 'self - these are the secrets of Asia's strength. Scriptures tell us that one who can rule over ones' self can only become the master of the world. A Self-ruler can become a world-ruler."

There is comparatively more of positivism in Indian life because there has been a constant stream of life here. The thought processes here do not hinder the waves; they are more like waves in the sea. The Indian life was essentially a life of culture. Centralised administrations immensely harmed the grassroot culture of India. Elaborating on this aspect, Shri Aurobindo said:

"The establishment of a large state in India proved to be harmful to its democracy long before the idea of electing people's representatives was born and a democracy is not possible without the peoples' representative. The Greeks lost their long-cherished independence on entering into a Hellenic Age. When Rome became an empire after giving up the old system, all powerful kings had to accept constitutional monarchy. Democracy disappeared from the face of the earth. Eventually, the electoral process gave shape to a new thought ... The empires of Chandragupt and Ashok were not of a new type; they were probably impressed by Hellenic ideals. They had no place for courtiers and citizens; only one person ruled with the help of few officials. But still India could not become a totalitarian state like the Caesar's Rome. The Indian ruler was responsible for implementing the laws and the constitution in the formulation of which he had no say. He could not ignore the majority public opinion. When the kings became extremely secular, their duty was to work for social good and welfare but they never got the right to ignore public opinion. Dictatorial and autocratic rulers came to India with the advent of Muslims,



who brought this trait from Europe and Iran. But the Indian temperament never accepted this."

In essence, Deendayal's views on Indian life are in accordance with those of Shri Aurobindo, but he holds a different view on the Maurya and Gupta Empires. He was one of those who considered the Gupta Era as the Golden Age in Indian History, but the reasons he gives are defensive, not legislative because foreign powers had started interfering with India's political-secular cultural life. The strong reaction to these foreign powers was the Mauryan Empire and Kautilya Chanakya. That is why Upadhyaya had faith in following the path of striving for national unity enunciated by Shankaracharya and Chanakya's path of striving for national unity in the prevailing circumstances. Alongside, he preferred the grassroots cultural, and political development of India's diverse nationhood. That is why he favoured unitary rule at the Centre and Janpad and village panchayat administration at the lower level.

Deendayal took pride in the Indian culture like a nationalist and he subscribed to its continued flow. He has, therefore, commented on its brighter aspects. His views on Indian Culture may be highlighted thus:

1. The first quality of Indian culture is its consideration of man's integrated existence; its attitude is integrated. It may be possible to consider the human situation in parts by specialists but it is not apt from the practical point of view.
2. The Indian life is based on spiritualism, but it does not bypass materialism. Our concentration is on oneness, not separatism.
3. The Indian culture considers the universe as one; the creation and the ultimate end as indivisible.
4. 'Dharma' is the highlight of Indian culture. It has disciplined the rulers, the ruled, the society and the individual; no one was left to its own. The lasting principles of nature are 'dharma'.

5. The Indian culture is not communal. It does not consider any individual or any scripture as the final authority. Its essence is that one attains knowledge through discussion.
6. The Indian Culture honours other's points of views; it displays tolerance. India believed that a single truth can be variously described by various scholars. That explains why there are the maximum number of faiths and communities in the country.
7. India's sociological viewpoint visualises the complete man; the cultural belief has 'chiti' as its basis, the nation is a cultural entity and a person and individual is 'self' based.
8. The Indian Culture emphasises the four-fold development of man; these are the perpetual, situational and positive requirements of any individual.
9. The centre of Indian Culture is 'dharma' and tradition, not the state.
10. India's vision is that whatever is a part of the whole is present in the universe and there is only one force in the universe. The Indian Culture, therefore, is not strife-torn or competitive but complementary and harmonious.
11. The spiritual core of Indian Culture is not based on one religion. Lord Krishna says in the *Gita*; "In whatever form a devotee worships me, I come to him in that form, i.e., every person in this country has the freedom to follow any faith or religion. In India, therefore, there are present atheists, agnostics, believers in one God, believers in paganism, individualists, fatalists and spiritualists. Even atheists and communists are not considered alien to Indian Culture.
12. The Indian Culture does not believe in individual possession or ownership. Detachment to worldly possessions is part of 'yagya' tendency. Individual or state ownership of property has given way to the trusteeship principle in Indian Culture.



13. The Indian Culture has a global outlook. Internationalism is distinct from globalism.
14. The Indian Culture is based on tradition. A traditional society is self-reliant. Formal constraints hinder man's development. The basic cause of Europe's problems is the imposed system on people. One accepts the restrictions imposed by traditions while the ones imposed through legislation are imposed. The obvious lack of rigidity in Indian administration is its respect for tradition.
15. The Indian Culture seeks to harmonise the various factors. Harmony between man and society, spiritualism and materialism, nationalism and internationalism, conflicting religious beliefs and faiths and all types class conflicts are the significant features of Indian Culture.

Deendayal has generally described the Indian Culture in his articles thus. But he was also aware of the country's weaknesses. Isolation, living in the past and vested interests have eaten at the roots of Indian Culture. He was, therefore, against maintaining status quo in the name of cultural superiority.

"We have assessed our ancient culture, but we are not archaeologists. We do not wish to be complacent about our past achievements and sit smugly in an archaeological museum. Our objective is not to protect and defend our culture but make it more capable by energising it. We require many reforms for giving it momentum. We'll have to end many orthodox views and beliefs ... Today, the evils of untouchability and discrimination have entered society because of which people do not consider others human and which are harmful to national unity and integration. We shall have to put an end to such practice."

Regarding vested interests in ancient set-ups, Upadhyaya said, " ... Those who have vested interests in the old systems will be shown and people who temperamentally are against any change will also be troubled when we talk of reforms and creation of new systems. But we have to administer medicine to cure the ills of the

system as without physical exercise we cannot gain strength. We will, therefore, have to give up our love for status quo and build anew."

Deendayal was aware of the aberrations of the west; he was a devotee of Indian Culture. His Indian outlook was all-encompassing and all-embracing. He therefore, neither considered any western thought as inferior; nor did he consider everything Indian as superior. His motto was, "We should take an overall view of man's knowledge and achievements. Anything that suits our temperament and tradition, should be adopted, whereas anything alien to us must be suitably amended and modified to suit our conditions before it is adopted." 'Swadeshi' was in keeping with the times, and the alien thought must be moulded according to 'swadeshi' tenets. He said: "India does not wish to be a mere photocopy of its past. Nor does it wish to become a reflection of America or Russia."

He did not consider western thought as untouchable. He believed that socialism and democracy were compatible but the western tendencies were not a condition of this compatibility. Only Indianness could make this possible. He said:

"Instead of imposing western polity on India, we must ponder over our own political philosophy. Thus, we can benefit from western thought. But we should not be completely taken in by that and consider it as the ultimate truth. This would not be in keeping with our country and the times."

"Democracy and Socialism are not self-contradictory; they can be harmonised, but such a socialism will not be based on any statehood or centralised administration. It is a fallacy to accept the State as the only representative organ of society. This fallacy has turned Communism into an all-gobbling state. Society gives birth to several systems-from the family to the state and from marriage to sanyaas ... The success of both Socialism and Democracy depends on non-governmental and politically secular movements and education, the most important being the traditions of the people. The way Dayanand, Gandhi and Hedgevar inspired us will



strengthen our faith in society. This will awaken the nation's consciousness and strengthen our broad outlook."

It was through this process of harmony that the concept of integrated Humanism was born. Upadhyaya probably did not base this concept on democratic socialism because of two factors. First, the Congress was trying to establish the concept of state based on western thinking. Upadhyaya did not agree with this and he was against the bypassing of Indian political thought by Congress and other political parties. Second, he wanted to create a political party that had independent thinking which could meet the challenge of the imposition of western thought on India. We wanted to create a new distinctive image of India in the world. He said the following about his own political party.

"We should not hesitate to exchange our knowledge with any other country of the world, but we should keep in mind our own values while doing so ... Bharatiya Jan Sangh is a movement of people who can look within, but who do not live merely for the sake of opposition. They wish to take the country on the path of quick progress and development."

In his historic Mumbai address when Upadhyaya talked of Integrated Humanism, he concluded his address with the following emotionally charged statement:

"We shall build an India that is based on global knowledge and our own continued tradition. This India will be more glorious than that of our ancestor's wherein there was complete development of man and society. Such an India will be capable of uplifting man to godhood and will create Narayan (God) from Nar (Man). This is the time-tested and divine outline of our culture. This is our message to the world on the crossroads today. May God give us strength to be successful in our objective- "This is our prayer."

This is the historical and quintessential background of Deendayal Upadhyaya's concept of Integrated Humanism. The course of history that led to the renaissance of Europe led to the

analysis and comparison of Indian and western thought processes. In the background of quintessential Indian and western thought, the westerners have realised the importance of Indian Culture. This has led to the formulation of the concept of Integrated Humanism in post independent India.

The background of Integrated Humanism is the harmonisation of Indian and Western thought. Upadhyaya worked on the basis of this belief. The coming generations will have to carry forward this task. One can reiterate theory of Integrated Humanism in Upadhyaya's own words thus:

"Man should be at the centre of our entire system. This is reflected in the saying that a part completes the whole; this is the essence of individual representation in the system. Materialistic objects are only a reasons of providing us comfort and luxury; they are not the end. The system in which there is a mediocre development of a man's body and mind, the soul is incomplete; it creates only a man motivated by cunningness and self-interest, not a complete human being. Our basis is the development of the Complete Man, who can represent the various harmonised strands of thought and culture. We will have to develop all the other systems on the basis of this concept."



## Jan Sangh General Secretary and President

**P**eendayal Upadhyaya was General Secretary of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh from its first Kanpur session in December 1951 to its 14th Cabinet session in December 1967. The Jan Sangh sessions, movements, plenary thinking and resolutions, all bore an imprint of his personality. His spells of stay in all parts of the country made him easily accessible to the party cadres. The General Secretary's report at every session was not a mere formal presentation of data, but was an enthusiastic and spirited call for further momentum to the party. The General Secretary's reports are a frank assessment of the journey and progress of the party. They are not merely documents listing its achievements but also a diary of national events. His reports on the 1952, 1957 and 1967 general elections in the country are high-order researches, befitting the research carried out at a university. In these documents he has assessed the political situation, the manifestoes of various political parties, his comments on the various incidents, complete graphs, tables and diagrams in a well-ordered fashion. These documents can prove to be of immense help for any historian. These documents are also guiding lights for political workers.

The years 1952 to 1957 were not only the nascent period of this new political party, but were also the years of survival for Bharatiya Jan Sangh; these were the years when unlimited energies were required to shape its policies and programmes. The untimely demise of Dr. Mukherjee, the issue of Bharatiya Jan Sangh's merger with Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad, the lack of a leader of national stature in the party, leadership of highly

inexperienced youth at the national and state levels, etc., were subjects that made people apprehensive of Jan Sangh's existence.

"There was a general belief in political circles that the Bharatiya Jan Sangh will not continue after the death of its founder, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee. We have spent the last five years fighting this apprehension. The results of the second general elections have proved that the Bharatiya Jan Sangh has not only survived, but is progressing as well. We could not have been true to our leader if this had not happened."

During these initial five years, despite being busy with the first general elections and organising a mass movement in Kashmir, Upadhyaya and his associates were able to provide a framework of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. By 1957, the Jan Sangh had 243 regional and 889 local committees, and its membership rose to 74,863. The first general elections in 1952 were not particularly encouraging. Only Dr. Mukherjee and two of his friends were elected to Lok Sabha. The organisation was not very helpful in this, but the Jan Sangh, on the basis of its scoring 3.06% of the votes; was recognised as a national political party. In his address at the January 1954 session in Mumbai encouraging the party workers to have faith in the party and be enthusiastic, Upadhyaya said: "Adult franchise is a big step towards educating the electorate politically. We will have to educate the public appropriately for the success of democracy. Our attitude has been vitiated as a result of over a thousand years of slavery ... Narrow-mindedness and blind tradition have harmed our progress. Discrimination on the basis of caste and untouchability have shaken the foundations of our society. English education has given us wrong values of life. There is lack of discipline and self-restraint. We no longer believe in the dignity of labour. We must establish the right values for educating our countrymen. We must make them aware of the oneness of this country, spread from Kashmir to Kanyakumari ... Awareness is the guarantee of a nation's bright future ... There is lack of wealth everywhere but this cannot be met from outside. We must assimilate all our resources, save



and spend less. We must concentrate on our ultimate objective and move ahead with self-confidence and dedication."

Instead of showing his co-workers and volunteers a short cut to win elections, Upadhyaya inspired them to move on to the long path of basic principles. Instead of asking them to work enthusiastically for short-term gain, he asked them to work with devotion and dedication.

The concept of a cultural nation that the Jan Sangh had propounded resulted in the setting up of a number of cultural centres in the first year of its inception. Chiefs of local municipal bodies were elected. Upadhyaya's initial area of work was Uttar Pradesh. He particularly inspired and enthused the workers there. In his address, he said: "By God's grace, the Jan Sangh representatives have been elected in Ayodhya, Mathura, Vrindavan, Gokul, Haridwar, Rishikesh and other pilgrim centres. Without tomtomming the slogan of non-violence, the Jan Sangh chief succeeded in banning not only cow slaughter but slaughter of all animals at Mathura. "Although the state government has announced putting roadblocks in our path, the people at large have given the Jan Sangh's elected representatives an opportunity to serve them. They will firmly move on this path of service to the people, failing which they will quit and join the people in their fight for civic rights."

Many local units were successful in Uttar Pradesh. In particular, out of the 970 contestants, 581 were successful there. The Jan Sangh workers had just entered politics; they also had to work as an opposition. The opposition has its own duty to perform, the chief being to fight for peoples' rights with the government. Communists exercised influence over the opposition at that time. Upadhyaya did not like their attitude, nor did he favour their methodology. He warned his workers; "Wherever the Communist Party take up an issue, their aim is not to resolve it but to generate dissatisfaction and create a conflict. As a result of their agitation, there is no relief to the people. Instead there is a feeling of bitterness and frustration. One who stands by you in difficult times and liberates

you from injustice and tyranny is truly God's messenger. This is the key to strength and organisation. "In this manner, Upadhyaya played the role of a teacher through his speeches. By 1957, the Jan Sangh workers proved their superiority in the country through their leadership of mass movements, organisational skills and unbiased approach. Consequently, in the second general elections held in 1957, Jan Sangh put forth 127 candidates for Lok Sabha and 650 for state legislatures. Out of these, four were elected to Lok Sabha and 51 to state legislatures. It garnered about 60% of the local votes; this was double its tally in 1952.

Comparatively, the Jan Sangh was better organised in North India by 1957. Upadhyaya proposed to organise the 1958 annual session of the party at Bangalore. This was because he wanted to give an all-India outlook to the organisation. In the North, Jan Sangh workers emphatically connected Hindi with nationalism and National Language. Why was the session being held in Bangalore? Upadhyaya replied;

"Some delegates from Punjab told me after the session that this journey down south has pacified their feelings that Hindi was being hastily imposed on them. This also led to nullifying the exaggerated anti-Hindi feelings that were emanating from there."

In his address at the Bangalore session, Upadhyaya dwelled at length on the essential point of his party's programme for development. The Jan Sangh workers were emotionally involved with countrywide and national issues naturally. Ban on cow slaughter, undivided India, Kashmir, Berubari etc., were issues that agitated and enthused the party cadres. But the party had its own limits in trying to convince local forces and make them think of party lines. He, therefore, directed his workers; "Although no political party can exclude countrywide issues from its mass movement, we should largely concentrate on local issues." Explaining the process underlying a democratic movement, he said: "A movement in democracy does not mean opposition or fighting; it is an expression of people's sentiments. The state suppression may benefit political



parties that play the role of a mediator for a short while between the state and the people, but it does not bode any good for the nation. Some political parties have adopted such an irresponsible attitude as a part of their programme. I feel we must give serious thought to this issue and fix limits for all political parties as well as the state."

A good political worker must have positive capabilities. Any developing party must be ready to take over the reins of the country's administration. A political worker must, therefore, be conversant with administrative processes and various laws. While we must make the state aware of people's reaction over its wrong policies, represent the electorate and influence the administration, it is our duty to attempt to know their problems and try to resolve them sympathetically by adopting a positive approach. We must study all the issues accordingly. We must constantly strive to properly understand the viewpoint of the administration.

Integrity of the nation and its security were the favourite subjects of the Jan Sangh. It had a different approach from that of other political parties, towards Pakistan. Upadhyaya said: "Pakistan's aggressive designs are clear. Its violation of our territory are a challenge to our sovereignty, and are disgraceful. No other political party, except the Jan Sangh, speaks on this issue. They are scared of losing the support of pro-Pak Muslims in elections. They are mum not only on this issue but also on the communally explosive and fifth columnist activities of Muslim fanatics. This is a wrong and condemnable incident of party self-interests."

Here it must also be mentioned that, through his speeches, Upadhyaya introduced some new things in the organisation every year. The Jan Sangh had sent its elected representatives to various state legislatures, in the 1957 general elections. This strength was likely to rise in 1962. There was an urgent need to prepare a model code for legislators so that their conduct was in keeping with the democratic norms and dignity, and they received adequate training in this respect. A training camp for legislators was organised at

Poona from June 28 to July 7, 1959. At the eighth annual session held in 1960 at Nagpur, Upadhyaya moved a resolution; "The base of Jan Sangh being basically principled, we urgently require such training camps and workshops. Without these, we shall not be able to assess the different approaches of other political parties." The various points of the legislators' code of conduct were decided in 1960 at Poona. "Walking out of the House and a tendency of create chaos through shouting or sloganeering, which are always aimed at capturing newspaper space, are not considered right by the Jan Sangh. We have advised our members to keep away from such a conduct; they should not protest in this unbecoming manner during the Governor's and the President's address to the House in order to register their protest. Dedication to democracy means that we must observe the parliamentary form of government scrupulously. Democracy cannot function without such conventions."

While the Jan Sangh's fight for power was with the Congress, it considered the Communist Party more dangerous for the country. Upadhyaya called upon his workers to counter the influence of the Communists thus: "We must go deep into society in order to shake them from their roots. People, who only understand the language of community, regionalism and their own selfish interests, must be taught the real meaning of nation and 'dharma'.

The same year (1959) Swantantra Party was formed. It welcomed several regional parties, rulers, landlords, capitalists and defectors from other political parties in its fold. Consequently, it was perceived as an effective political party right at its inception. Upadhyaya warned of the dangers arising out of this short cut to power: "We must be more disciplined and organised as a party. A single instance of indiscipline weakens our party and people lose faith in us. If we are self-disciplined, we can train the people to be disciplined. People must identify themselves with principles and party today. People who change parties today give rise to loss of faith in democracy. The centre of their interest is not the society but the individual ... The society has been shocked by this betrayal. We



must try to re-establish this faith through hard work and sacrifice, and commit ourselves to the service of society."

Upadhyaya issued a manifesto to elaborate his thoughts: "The Jan Sangh has to work for the defence of the nation, nationalism of the masses, democratisation of administration and decentralisation of democracy. We should be so effective that our work is not misguided and misunderstood. The truth must be complemented with strength." Upadhyaya used to conclude his remarks with inspiring and emotional expressions.

The third general elections were held in 1962. Jawaharlal Nehru's charisma was gradually on the wane. The Jan Sangh had been warning the people of Pakistan's and China's designs for long. The public started taking the Jan Sangh's voice seriously. On the other hand, because of lack of Nehru's clout, indiscipline and groupism were on the rise. The opposition parties were waiting for a break-up of the Congress because they obviously stood to gain from its disintegration. However, Upadhyaya did not think that it was in the nation's interest. To come to power by defeating a disorganised Congress was an evidence of negative thinking. Internecine fights in any party as well as indiscipline in any party weakened democracy. Upadhyaya wanted to defeat a united and capable Congress through the efforts of Jan Sangh legislators. He, therefore, cautioned his workers: "Groupism in the Congress is assuming serious proportions. In view of the 1962 elections, every group in the party in adopting its own strategy. It is certain that many people will leave the Congress on the matter of distribution of tickets. Many political parties, which believe that Congress dissidents will help them win elections are keenly looking forward to this. But we should strengthen our own organisation and establish intimate contacts with the society." He outlines a plan to implement this.

The Jan Sangh was formed in 1952, it made the country aware of its seriousness and stature in 1957, in 1962 it became a strong political party in the country. There was a demand, in one form or

another, among non-Congress parties to defeat the Congress somehow in the 1962 elections. Upadhyaya did not agree with this:

"The Bharatiya Representative Committee had on Nov. 12-14, 1961 at Varanasi and at its last session, decided that we should contest from the maximum constituencies and, without entering into any alliance or forming a united front with other parties, should try to win over the electorate to our policies and programmes ... According to the above policy, Jan Sangh put forth 1162 candidates for the state legislatures and 198 for Lok Sabha. It contested from the maximum number of constituencies from among the non-Congress parties."

After the 1962 general elections, Upadhyaya analysed the gains and losses of each party. He also discussed the new emerging factors. Regarding the maintenance of democratic norms and expressing his concerns about new realities, he said:

"Bharatiya Jan Sangh wishes to give a constitutional shape to politics. Its publicity and mass movements have always adopted constitutional norms. We maintained our standards in these elections also. Our speakers chiefly presented, their own viewpoint and criticised other parties only in the background of our own convictions and beliefs. It is time that since we have alternate policy and programme and we have differences with the Congress and other parties which are its offshoots, our criticism is basic and penetrating. Because of our fearless and selfless nature, such criticism might have been sharp at places but Jan Sangh has nowhere resorted to personal allegations or roused communal or casteist feelings, nor has it ever resorted to regional and class conflicts.

How far this statement of Upadhyaya can be true at a lower level is difficult to say. But he always tried to establish an organisation and educate his workers towards the creation of such an environment, can be easily understood by his deep-rooted beliefs. There were several untoward incidents during the elections that involved the Congress, the Communists and the Jan Sangh. In this context, Upadhyaya said: "I demand that the administration should



investigate the election publicity of various political parties impartially. It is essential not only to put an end to the prevailing malpractices but also to raise the standard of electioneering in the future."

Upadhyaya assessed the performance of the various political parties thus: "The Congress, the Communists and the Praja Socialist Party-all these three, in their quest for garnering Muslim votes, encouraged the forces of communalism and separatism ... They raised the Jan Sangh bogey in their mind so as to create a scare and tried that they should not exercise their franchise independently because of the threat posed by Jan Sangh."

The various alliances that the political parties entered into were not only surprising but also painful. This gave rise to the speculation that in their lust for power, they can go to any extent. The Communist Party had decided to support the Congress in order to defeat the Jan Sangh. They proposed such an arrangement in Kerala. In West Bengal, they adopted their old leftist leanings and raised the slogan of an alternative government. This time, the Praja Socialist Party did not join them ... In Punjab, they entered into an informal agreement with the Akali Dal and in Andhra with the Swatantra Party. Probably, they did so because of the prevailing caste equations there. In Maharashtra, they contested the elections in the name of Republican Party and Shetkari Kamgar Paksh."

"The Swatantra Party entered into alliances with practically every party other than the Congress including the Akali Dal, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Communists. Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad entered into a compromise and contested the elections. The Republican Party contested with two groups - Praja Socialist Party supporting Vidharbha and the Communists. In Uttar Pradesh there was an agreement between the old Muslim League elements and the Republican Party. The Congress tried to enter into an alliance with the Jharkhand Party, but it was not successful ... The Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the Socialist Party are the only parties that contested the elections on the basis of their policies. "

bastions, the Communists have slightly increased their tally by picking up in other parts of the country. The beginning of the end of the Praja Socialist Party has started ... The Bharatiya Jan Sangh has taken a step forward, but it still lags behind in fulfilling the historic mission with which it was formed."

Upadhyaya considered shortcut and opportunistic alliances for winning elections a social weakness. He favoured principled policies. He, therefore, attempted to analyse the third elections on the basis of principles and healthy political norms. According to him, "It is difficult to arrive at Indian polity's principled stand on the basis of these election results because a voter's decision is based on several factors. Principles have a very small role to play in this. Probably that is why eminent leaders of various political parties did not feel any need to define their ideals in these elections. The Congress staked its claim to power because it is the largest political party and no other party has a leader of Jawaharlal Nehru's stature. The other political parties have been saying that the Congress has failed on all fronts or they have given tickets to such people who have tried to be different from the Congress candidates on the basis of their communal or regional view points. It is difficult for me to say what success they have achieved in this .. If we say that the people became victims to greed or fear or were swept by communal and casteist forces imply that we have failed to prepare them for their democratic rights." He formed a sub-committee of his party to go into this issue and arrive at its resolution.

The 1962 general elections had transformed the Bharatiya Jan Sangh into an important force and the person who contributed to it, largely through his efforts and talents, was Deendayal Upadhyaya. This was becoming increasingly clear now. It was not easily transparent because Upadhyaya always worked in the background; he was not easily seen and the RSS and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh were his outward reflections.

Strengthening of the organisation enthuses the workers, but it can also mislead them through enhanced self-esteem. They come



to consider it their birthright to violate all rules under the guise of their commitment. Many political parties encourage this tendency in their workers in order to create a radical and agitational image for themselves. Upadhyaya was constantly on his guard against this danger. He made the Jan Sangh's planned and disciplined movement a part of political functioning: "Rail fares were to be hiked from July 1, 1962. It was decided to stage demonstrations against this hike and generally against the imposition of new taxes at railway stations. It was also decided that the demonstrations should be peaceful and the railway employees were not to be put to any inconvenience and no law was to be violated. Accordingly, demonstrations were organised at all stations and the public was made aware of the new taxes through distribution of leaflets all over the country. Barring a few places, where the railway employees did not issue platform tickets and the police arrested a few demonstrators who had platform tickets, there was no untoward incident anywhere." In his resolution, Upadhyaya generally took care to include these factors so that no one violated it at lower levels. Also, people must remember, where they had gone wrong and the newly-recruited workers understood the doctrine of protest and discharged their responsibilities positively.

While Deendayal Upadhyaya opposed opportunistic political alliances, he considered political untouchability undesirable. He wanted that the different political parties should work together for the resolution of national problems. "Communist China's aggression on India and the declaration of a state of emergency by the President have not led to stable conditions in the country. The dormant nationalist sentiment of the people has been awakened; there is an atmosphere of unity. It has given a golden opportunity to the various political parties to come together on a common platform to understand one another and put an end to their prejudices. If this atmosphere of cooperation and goodwill continues, it will be certainly healthy for the nation's political development."

There was a sort of unity among the non-Communist parties, especially the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and Dr. Lohia's Socialist Party,

against the Chinese aggression and in support of Hindi as the National Language. The two parties fought the 1963 by elections in Uttar Pradesh on a common platform. The goodwill between the two parties increased and there was a move to launch a permanent anti Congress front. But Upadhyaya did not see anything concrete emerging out of such a move. He, therefore, suggested that both the parties should work separately on the basis of their programmes and policies: "Different parties have different viewpoints. People do not have any opinion about their thoughts. Sometimes they think of the basis of goodwill that all political parties should come together, but there are certain basic points to justify separate existence. For that, only goodwill is not enough. That is why we have decided that we won't live in an imaginary world and enter into some alliance the success of which is doubtful. It would be better to work together on issues where we reach a consensus; otherwise we should operate from our own platforms."

There were two important events in the history of Jan Sangh and the country in 1963. First, three parliamentary elections were held that had gained national importance for two reasons. One, there was a polarisation of the political parties between the Congress-Communist and the non Congress-non Communist parties. Important political leaders contested these by elections. They were: Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya who were the joint candidates of the opposition. The second important incident of the year was the death of Dr. Raghuwira, reputed linguist and National President of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, in a car accident. After the death of Dr. Mukherjee in 1953, this was the second occasion when the Jan Sangh had got such a person of eminence of Dr. Raghuwira as its President. His death was an irreparable loss to Jan Sangh. Upadhyaya remembered him with pride and gratitude at the annual session. It was also the first time that the party General Secretary did not present an analysis and assessment of the parliamentary byelections, may be because he was himself a contestant in those elections. Whatever the reason,



the absence of an analysis and assessment of the year's parliamentary byelections was jarring.

The year 1964 was a milestone in Indian history. Jawaharlal Nehru died this year. This was a shock to the Congress; it was the end of an era. It was a testing time from the organisational and policy point of view. A historic training camp of the executive committee of the Jan Sangh was organised at Gwalior from August 11 to 15, 1964. The resolution Upadhyaya had prepared on its principles and policies was given the final touches at his camp. Jan Sangh had come into being on the basis of the cultural resurgence thinking in 1952. The 1964 document was the culmination of such thinking. The Jan Sangh declared its concept of Integrated Humanism authoritatively, to elaborate which Upadhyaya delivered four historic addresses in Mumbai.

The Vijayawada session on January 23-24, 1965 marked a new beginning in the history of Jan Sangh. It was the first session held on a large scale in the South. The Jan Sangh manifesto on its policies and programmes was formally presented at this session. Its acceptance marked the beginning of a new chapter in Jan Sangh history. So far, the President of the party had been a reputed elderly, affluent and eminent personality. This was the first occasion when a seasoned Jan Sangh worker, Bachhraj Vyas, was elected President. Comparatively he was younger and belonged to the first generation of Jan Sangh leaders; he was among those workers who had been trained by Dr. Mukherjee and Golwalkar. His entire political life had been shaped and developed by Jan Sangh, and he was its first worker-President who had risen from the ranks. Upadhyaya had prepared a list of workers for Jan Sangh's political leadership, which had now come to take over the organisation completely. All-India President Bachhraj Vyas, organisational Secretary. Sunder Singh Bhandari, Secretary Jagannathrao Joshi and Election Organiser Nanaji Deshmukh were all first-generation Jan Sangh pracharaks, who had come up from the ranks. Upadhyaya mentioned these names with a great deal of satisfaction in his address. By this time, Atal Behari Vajpayee had become a leader

of note, he was leader of the party in Parliament. The second important leader was Balraj Madhok. Both of them did not attend the Vijaywada session. Their conspicuous absence was another notable feature because they were not in favour of Bachhraj Vyas' election as President.

The conditional deadline for English as the official language of the Centre was January 26, 1965; its place was to be taken by Hindi. Around this time there were protests and demonstrations for the further continuance of English and opposition to Hindi in the South. Shri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry and Dr. Radhakrishnan's library in Tirupati were set on fire. There was widespread violence in Tamil Nadu. Upadhyaya said in Jalandhar, "The root cause of the movement was not language, but politics. Chakrawarty Rajagopalachari and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam inflamed public passions and adopted all means to incite them. The Congress infighting also contributed to this. What added fuel to the fire was the Madras Chief Minister's intransigence and the Congress President's call to throw all papers in Hindi in the wastepaper basket. After the movement was launched, it soon slipped into the hands of the leftists and old Muslim Leaguers. Some foreign missionaries also encouraged it." Upadhyaya wished to convey through this statement that the Tamilians were really against Hindi. The occasion was exploited by vested interests. The statement may appeal to those who subscribe to Upadhyaya's and Jan Sangh's views on Hindi as the National Language, but it is not easy to simplify the issue of Indian languages in this manner. Deendayal also conceded the inability of his own party to meet the challenge. "The Jan Sangh influence in Tamil Nadu is new and limited. We could not, therefore, be effective there."

Upadhyaya was constantly endeavouring to make Jan Sangh dignified, cultured, disciplined and democratic in its conduct. A member of his party, Pandharirao Kridant, threw a shoe at the Deputy Speaker of Madhya Pradesh Assembly. This was painful for Upadhyaya. He made a mention of this incident in this address



and said: "Whatever the reasons for the member's agitation and frustration, this conduct is against all parliamentary conventions and against the Jan Sangh code of conduct. None of our workers should resort to this. We must exercise self-discipline."

The social set-up does not become democratic merely by accepting democracy as a form of government. By 1965-66, it had become clear that all constituents of the system were lacking in democratic functioning. While describing this in his address, Upadhyaya suggested: "The Prime Minister should convene a meeting of all parties and try to constitute a body on the lines similar to the National Integration Council which should make efforts to work for democratic norms. There should be a model code of conduct for the state, the political parties and the press. The State must itself accept a process through which it should change its policies in accordance with public opinion between one general election and the next. Democracy and stubbornness cannot go together. "It would have been better if such a council was formed to deliberate over what Upadhyaya had proposed. "Changing policies on the basis of public opinion" can be the starting point of a constructive debate. It is still left to a democratic society to find a practical approach to the powers of the legislature that is affected by party politics and an inefficient executive.

Under its young leadership, Jan Sangh had made adequate preparations for the 1967 general elections. The Jan Sangh emerged as the largest political party after the Congress in the 1967 polls. The resolution regarding these elections is Upadhyaya's last most important document. The era of non-Congress parties started after these elections and Deendayal Upadhyaya was a respected leader of India's second largest political party in the opposition. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was the leader who had given this idea; the age of a single-party monopoly in Indian politics was gradually coming to an end.

"The five years from 1962 to 1967 were so eventful and mass-based that there were many apprehensions in the public mind. But

they proved to be baseless. The public participated peacefully and judiciously in these elections and this gave proof of the strength of democracy in India."

There was an attempt at bringing together the non-Congress parties on the same platform. But Upadhyaya did not agree with the suggestion. He said in his address: "There was an atmosphere of weakness and lack of strength in the Congress which led the non-Congress parties to think of coming together to fight elections. Their justification was they could defeat the Congress as one entity. Bharatiya Jan Sangh's experience has been that such a compromise has no value because when it comes to a direct contest, the other non-Congress parties prefer to join the Congress instead of Jan Sangh in such contests. These elections have justified our contention."

Regarding the formation of an alternative to the Congress, he opined: "Since there is a gradual decline in the influence of the Congress and it is slowly losing its effectiveness, it is of paramount importance that there should be a national and democratic party as an alternative, but this task is not possible through manipulation. We require a clear policy, a well-defined programme, the right principles and a strong organisation for this." Jan Sangh won 35 seats in the 1967 general elections. Besides, there were 75 constituencies where the Jan Sangh contestants directly faced the winners. Out of these, it lost in 15 constituencies by a margin of 200 to 5,000 votes. Upadhyaya was not dissatisfied with his party's performance: "It is clear that the Jan Sangh is not only ahead of all the other non-Congress parties but it has secured more votes than both the Communist parties, Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party put together." He presented a detailed assessment of the parliamentary and state legislature party positions in this address.

After interpreting and analysing data in these elections, Upadhyaya commented on the newly-emerged realities and tendencies: "The Muslims have voted against the Congress at most places, but it is not appropriate to say at this juncture, that they are



veering to other parties on the basis on economic, political and other issues. Obviously, the Maj lis-e-Mushawwarat-e-Musalman has been organised on communal basis and it has voted on these lines. The Mushawwarat leaders are definitely using this party for political bargaining. In Andhra, Ittehadul-Musalrneen has also been formed on communal lines ... The Muslim league has added to its clout through a united front in Madras and Kerala. The influence and expansion of these parties is a stumbling block in the way of Indian Muslims joining the national mainstream."

In this contest, Upadhyaya also wrote: "The Congress majority in many states came to end in many states, but except Delhi and Madras no single party could muster majority. As a result, the era of coalition governments has come into being. The objective of these alliances is to somehow cobble a majority in order to remain in power. There is no need for any party to change its thinking or policies. Nor should they take any decision to remain together on the basis of a principled stand. This is a practical issue. In the present circumstances, the various political parties preferred to form alliances to allow the imposition of President's Rule and formation of Congress Government later. These governments have been formed on the basis of such thinking and they will continue as long as there is willingness to run the administration on practical considerations."

He was not very enthusiastic about the coalition governments. He, therefore, urged his workers: "... All over, there is a concept of coalition governments. I want the Congress rule to end in all states, but we should not take a step that is against the healthy traditions of democracy."

As General Secretary, this was Upadhyaya's message to his workers and other parties. But no one heeded his advice as became clear from the events that followed. Neither his own party nor the other political parties paid any attention to what he said. Consequently, the conduct of all our political leaders after the fourth general elections was against all the healthy conventions of democracy.

The 14th annual session of Bharatiya Jan Sangh was held at Calicut. Deendayal Upadhyaya was elected President. Sundersingh Bhandari was elected General Secretary of the party in his place.

### **President of Bharatiya Jan Sangh**

A new beginning was made in respect of Presidentship of the party after the Vijayawada session in 1965. Bachhraj Vyas was elected President, Balraj Madhok was elected to the post in 1966 and Upadhyaya became President at the 1967 historic session. Upadhyaya's influence as well as that of Jan Sangh was at its zenith at that time.

The 14th annual session was held on December. 29 to 31, 1967 under Upadhyaya's Presidentship. He was murdered at midnight on February 10, 1968 at Mughalsarai. He was the Jan Sangh President for only 43 days. The most important task accomplished by him during those 43 days was the address he delivered and this can be studied to obtain a fair picture of the RSS, Jan Sangh and Upadhyaya's thinking. Every address is delivered in a given context and the assessment of the 1967 general elections was the background to Upadhyaya's address.

Upadhyaya considered the most significant results of socio-political efforts after Independence as generating a political awakening among the masses. He said: "It is not proper to use it as the medium of short-term political gains."

Regarding the prevailing trends, he said: "August- September 1965 when the brave Indian Army gave evidence of its gallantry and victory over Pakistan, was the beginning of a new era. There was a marked shift in attitudes and that was a time of new problems coming up ... The first such problem was that of coalition governments, the second was that of constitutional model and the third related to economy and security."

#### **(A) Governors**

The position of the Governors became crucial in the unstable conditions following coalition governments. Under the cover of biased attitudes of Governors, there was a demand for



elected Governors from some quarters. "I (Upadhyaya) do not think it proper. This is no cure for our malady; this will lead to increased centralisation. The Governor is a constitutional head except for certain occasions. He should not become a pawn in state politics, nor should he become a stamp of the Centre." Upadhyaya suggested: "It would be better to have Governors from among the retired judges of the Supreme Court rather than defeated politicians and retired bureaucrats."

### **(B) Coalition Governments**

"Coalition governments have indeed provided an alternative to the Congress. But it is not possible for them to provide an alternative to its policies and programmes nor were they formed to fulfil this objective ... If some sort of realistic and political gains emerge out of such coalitions, that would be useful. These coalition governments have taken an admirable step towards ending political untouchability and isolation ... Whatever the future of these coalitions, I wish that we would not lose such an opportunity."

### **(C) Need to Develop New Traditions**

"Because of political instability that the coalition governments have given rise to, some people are advocating giving up the parliamentary and shifting to the presidential form of government... It is true that such traditions were born of history in Britain and America. Instead of following them, we should evolve our own democratic forms. We have been following the parliamentary form of government in one shape or another for the last fifty years. We should mould it according to the changed circumstances."

"For instance, we can evolve a tradition in which no Council of Ministers can resign till a vote of no-confidence is passed against it in the State Assembly. We can evolve such a tradition in this direction that the members of the majority party in the Assembly should request the Governor to call a meeting of the Assembly."

### **(D) Defections**

According to Upadhyaya, ninety-nine percent of defectors either joined the other parties after defecting from the Congress or left the Congress to join other political Parties. In order to tackle this menace, we should resort to the court of public opinion instead of legislation. He said: "The political parties should accept a code of conduct which would curb defections to a large extent. Instead of electing an individual on the British pattern, the electoral Process should be geared to electing a party. This would save us from many ills besides defections from a particular party. Like West Germany, we can combine both the traditions. But the more judicious solution to this problem would be that as and when the political parties get organised on the basis of principles and policies, they will become strong and by providing political education to the masses, they will have them ponder over their programmes before casting their votes. This would help reduce the tendency for defections."

### **(E) Unitary Rule**

It is essential so as not to endanger national unity that we should not have a unitary constitution. We should provide autonomy to states and decentralise our fiscal and other resources. The states are largely dependent on the centre for their finances. The division between rights and responsibilities has been such' that the complete responsibility for public welfare and development is on the states while the flexible and profitable sources of revenue are with the Centre. According to Upadhyaya, a practical middle path should be formed without amending the Constitution. He suggested that the Finance Commission, instead of being constituted every five years, should be a permanent body.

The present dependence of states on the Centre is of their own making besides the constitutional provisions. Upadhyaya



thought it was improper. "In the fiscal policies of many states, there is more of political sloganeering instead of fiscal policies and administrative responsibilities. Land revenue, sales tax, income tax, etc., are areas in which the states should act in a more practical and responsible manner."

Upadhyaya demanded that "one tax commission should be appointed which, keeping in mind economic development, capital formation, public welfare, inequalities and decentralised administration, should evolve a comprehensive tax structure and allocate the share of various taxes."

#### (F) **Distracting Issues**

"Today, when there is an urgent need to bring about radical changes in our economy, we devote all our time and energies on issues which, though relevant, are not important enough. The issue of privy purses, discussion on the Hazari Report, the nationalisation of insurance and banking, etc., are considered the burning and much-debated issues today, but they do not come anywhere in importance to the alarming food situation in the country, decline in production, increasing unemployment and rising prices. There may be discussion and debate on such issues but there should be no clear-cut decision on resolving them. But the entire focus is to divert public attention from the more pressing issues and exercise political pressure on them.

"We always talk of the lack of resources. I do not believe that we lack resources in the country. We possess all the human, natural and fiscal resources in abundant measure. What we require is to plan according to the available resources for development."

#### (G) **The Question of Language**

Language was such an issue on which people said the Jan Sangh had changed its stand after passing the Calicut Resolution. Probably, this was the first occasion when Jan Sangh, which had forcefully agitated for accepting Hindi as

the undisputed language of everyday communication throughout the country and for the removal of English, had changed its tone in the South. Upadhyaya said in this context: "Jan Sangh does not favour any such move that would deprive the non-Hindi speaking people. The Jan Sangh, therefore, demands that all the exams of the Union Public Service Commission should also be held in regional languages and there should be no compulsion for learning a particular language for recruitment. Those who wish to use English during the period of transition should be allowed to do so."

This was a multidimensional and detailed address which Upadhyaya delivered in the hope of awakening the same political awareness among the masses that he talked of in the beginning. "We should beware of such people who see a Communist hand behind every agitation and advise the Government to suppress it. Mass movements are natural and essential in changing times. They are, in reality, a sign of social awakening... We should, therefore, move along and lead such movements. Those who are in favour of maintaining status quo in political, economic and social circles are the ones who are creating such an apprehension today. We regret that we cannot cooperate with them. Such people wish to stop the cycle of time. They try to delay India's destiny, but this is not possible."

"We are inspired by the pride in our past, but we do not consider it the zenith of India's national life. We have a realistic approach towards the present. We have dreams for the future, but we are not in slumber. We are karma yogis, determined to realise our dreams. We are devotees of the timeless-present, unstable-present and an eternal future that are a part of our culture... We have faith in our ultimate victory and we are prepared to make any sacrifices for it."

Deendayal Upadhyaya had raised hopes for the future when he became President of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. His realistic approach to problems was lauded by the press at the Calicut session. He did not wish to become President of his party, but he was prevailed upon to accept it.



## End of An Era

**P**andit Deendayal Upadhyaya was active in India's political life from 1937 to 1968. He came into contact with the RSS in 1937 and discharged his responsibilities as a volunteer for five years. In 1942, he became a life volunteer and till 1951, he was active in Uttar Pradesh as a committed RSS worker. He exhibited his potential for organisational and literary capabilities during these nine years.

For 16 years (1951 to 1967), he was General Secretary of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. He emerged as an allround national leader but when this seasoned leader emerged as President of his party, destiny took him away from us in a mysterious and gory end. He was the Jan Sangh President for only 43 days from December 29, 1967 to February 10, 1968.

Around 3.45 a.m. on February 11, 1968, the leverman at the Mughalsarai station informed the Assistant Station Master that about 150 yards from the station, towards the south of the railway line, a dead body was lying near the electric pole No. 1276. The police was alerted and the Assistant Station Master sent a memo to the police on which was written: "Almost dead." The doctor examined the body in the morning and declared dead. When the dead body was brought to the station, a curious crowd gathered there. Till now, the dead body was unclaimed. Then one person in the crowd shouted, "This is the Bharatiya Jan Sangh President, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya!" The news spread like wildfire and the nation was plunged in grief.

The budget session of Parliament starts in February. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh meeting was scheduled to be held in Delhi on

February 11, 1968 and its new President was to participate in it. Upadhyaya was in Lucknow on 11<sup>th</sup> February. In the morning, the organisational Secretary Ashwini Kumar telephoned Upadhyaya. He said that since the budget session was likely to be prolonged, he should be present at the Jan Sangh Working Committee meeting on 11th February at Patna. After talking it over with the newly-elected General Secretary Sundersingh Bhandari, Upadhyaya fixed up his programme for going to Patna.

Upadhyaya travelled by third class when he was General Secretary of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and he used to travel by passenger train instead of express train. It gave him an opportunity to read and write, as also the chance to meet the Jan Sangh workers at small stations. It was decided that, as Jan Sangh President, he should now travel first class. A first class ticket was accordingly purchased for Pathankot-Sealdah Express for him. The train left Lucknow at 7.00 a.m. His books and bedding were placed in the compartment. The then U.P. Deputy Chief Minister, Ramprakash Gupta, and former Jan Sangh President, Peetambar Das came to see him off. He folded his hands in farewell to everyone at the station. At midnight, Jaunpur Ruler's personal secretary Kanhaiya Lalji Pandit came to see him at Jaunpur station. He handed over a letter from the Ruler to Upadhyaya. The train left Jaunpur at 12.12 a.m. and reached Mughalsarai. Sealdah-Pathankot Express did not travel straight to Patna. It reached Platform No. 1 at 2.15 a.m. and the bogey in which Deendayal Upadhyaya was travelling was disengaged from the train and was joined to the Delhi-Howrah Express after shunting. It left Mughalsarai around 2.50 a.m. It reached Patna in the morning, but Upadhyaya was not there.

Meanwhile, the dead body had been identified at the Mughalsarai station. Golwalkar and other prominent people had been informed. The parliamentary committee was in session at Delhi. It was adjourned and all the leaders reached Varanasi and his body was brought to Delhi. Upadhyaya used to stay at Parliamentarian Atal Behari Vajpayee's residence at 30, Rajendra



Prasad Marg. His lifeless body was brought there. People from all over India reached Delhi. Guruji Golwalkar was already in Varanasi because of his intimate relations with Upadhyaya. Guruji was not only the Sarsanghachalak of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh but a great soul. Deendayal was his follower but the two had a two-bodies-one-soul association. Generally unperturbed, when Guruji approached Upadhyaya's dead body, his eyes filled with tears and he could only say in a choked voice, "Oh, what has happened to him!"

Deendayal's body was carried to the plane and Guruji climbed up the stairs. He placed both his hands on Upadhyaya's face and brought them up to his eyes. He repeated this thrice and said in grief, "Many people run families, they can imagine the loss. Since I do not run a family, my sorrow is hundred fold. I won't say anything about our personal relations. All that I can say is that God has taken away Deendayal from us. I read an old saying in English which said, "Those whom the gods love, die young."

Delhi was plunged in grief. All offices and shops were closed and people thronged towards Rajendra Prasad Marg. The police and the volunteers found it difficult to control the surging crowds carrying wreaths, and flowers. Everyone was stunned. Who was the murderer that had so cruelly taken the life of sagelike Upadhyaya, who did not have a single enemy in the world? There was no answer; everyone was grieving.

On the morning of February 12, India's President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, came to offer his homage. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai laid wreaths on the dead body. Leaders, social workers, cultural figures, etc., all lined up to pay their tributes. Delhi was there in large numbers to express its sorrow.

Around 1 p.m., Upadhyaya's mortal remains were placed on a carriage to prepare for the final journey. Four mounted policemen were marching in front. They were followed by senior Jan Sangh leaders on foot. On both sides were lined up thousands of people

showering flowers on the carriage. The rear was brought up by women chanting mantras. The carriage winded its way through the streets of Delhi and reached the Nigambodh Ghat around 6 p.m. Deendayal's maternal cousin Prabhudayal Shukla lit the holy pyre and Deendayal's body became one with the elements.

His death was as shocking as it was mysterious. The mystery remains unsolved to this day. Who knows whether it would be solved ever? Everyone was stunned by his untimely demise. Words cannot describe the shock experienced by his admirers and followers. It would be better to quote verbatim from what Guruji Golwalkar, who was his guide and mentor, and Atal Behari Vajpayee, who was his successor, said. Guruji said:

"The heart is filled with sorrow. One wonders how all this could have occurred; this is a matter of investigation. Whatever the truth, the Sangh has lost a dedicated worker. He was at the zenith of his career and held potential for doing much more in later life. But now all possibilities are lost. I met him a couple of days ago. I asked him, 'What is your next programme? Where do we meet next? He said he was leaving for Patna and he would see me after a few days in Kanpur. But the accident occurred even before he could reach Patna.'

### **Ideal Volunteer**

"Those who realise and recognise their duties and responsibilities as a swayamsevak right from their student days and spend all their time and energies in organisation work are a rare breed. Upadhyaya occupied a prominent place among such great souls. The RSS expects a Swayamsevak to inculcate all qualities, conserve them and work for the organisation, keep participating in the various RSS programmes in order of importance, carry out any other duties assigned to him in whichever field it be. Deendayal Upadhyaya was assigned to work in the political field. Some may have doubted his capabilities, but it can rightly be said that whatever position the Bharatiya Jan Sangh achieved was due to his dedicated



efforts. There have been many vocal leaders in the Jan Sangh, many others worked very hard, but Upadhyaya was the one who laid the foundation stone of the party and worked for its attaining the dignity it achieved.

"He reached the topmost post. Although I did not want him to become President and he was also not willing. I had to convince him to accept the assignment during a critical period for a short while, maybe a year. That made him accept Presidentship of the party, otherwise he was averse to it. He did not seek any position, nor did I want him to accept it. But he was forced by me following the convention that a Swayamsevak has to follow the dictates of the party.

"His Presidentship had a good effect on the public mind. Even his opponents feel that ultimately it was this party that was to hold the reins of power in the country. The first Jan Sangh President, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, was the victim of a political murder. The party was fortunate to get Dr. Raghuvira as President after him. He was a very capable person. He could have made it possible for the Jan Sangh's voice to be heard abroad and it could become effective there. But he also left us. After him, we got a complete personage (Deendayalji) as the party President. He, too has left us.

"I had gone to Kashi to look at his dead body. I came here after putting his body in the flame. But I did not shed tears. I do not know what people would have thought about me. I am reminded of one of our ancient proverbs which says that a person is neither affected by joy nor sorrow. Maybe, by Gods' grace, I have become temperamentally like this." I have internalised all my sorrow. We should not think that another like him, who would be able to carry on his work with dedication, would not appear on the scene. It is a gigantic task, it is the task of an organisation. Many of our workers have the capability to take it up. No place remains vacant for long and I am hopeful that we will soon get a capable leader to take his place. I won't say anything more. Whatever I say will not suffice,

we will have to bear this loss.

"I had to exercise a lot of self-discipline to speak thus far. It has resulted in physical fatigue and exhaustion. I have witnessed the gory scene and I thought I would describe it to you.

### **All-round Competence**

"Each one of us should strive towards improving our allround competence. It does not imply that I am asking everyone to move towards the political arena. We should surely not be inclined towards it. The person I have just mentioned had absolutely no political inclinations. He told me so many times during the last many years, 'To what trouble have you put me? Let me return to my original work as a pracharak.' I replied, 'Bhai, who else is there to be put to such trouble but you? 'One who is solely involved in organisational work can only jump into the cesspool of politics and clean it while remaining as untouched as a lotus amid all the muck. That is why I just said that I am not asking anyone to entertain any political inclinations.'"

Atal Behari Vajyapee's sentiments were expressed through the article, 'We accept the challenge', thus:

Come, let us consider every drop of Panditji's blood as the holy mark on our foreheads and move towards the ideals he lived and worked for. We should take every spark from his funeral pyre to our hearts and work to our utmost like him. We should turn the bones of this Dadhichi into stones and hurl them on the enemies so that our sacred soil is free of all roadblocks.

A small lamp has been extinguished,

We'll have to fight darkness by lighting our lives,

The sun has set,

We'll have to find our way in the light of the stars.

"Our friend, companion and guide is gone. We'll have to cherish his sacred memory and move on to achieve our objectives."

### **Dedicated Life**



Panditji's life was a dedicated life. He has sacrificed every atom of his body and every moment of his life at the altar of nationalism. The entire country was home to him. He dreamed of only one thing and his life was a vow taken to fulfil it.

## **His Dream**

Politics was a means, not the end, for him. It was a journey, not his destination. He wished to spiritualise politics. He was inspired by India's bright past and wanted to build a brighter future for the country. His beliefs were rooted in the timeless Indian existence, but he was not a fundamentalist. He had a dream of making India into a prosperous modern nation.

"He was a great thinker. He did not favour moving within the already-defined confined modes of thought. That is why he developed the Bharatiya Jan Sangh into an organisation that moved with a proud and dignified past and was prepared to face the challenges of the future. Whatever Jan Sangh is today is because of him.

## **This Wound will Always Be Raw**

"He was never enamoured of any position. He was not a Member of Parliament, but he was the maker of Members of Parliament. He never wanted any office. It was with great difficulty that he was persuaded to become President of the party. He inspired us to move across the Vidhyachal to Kanyakumari to work for India's unity. We vowed to take the slogan of India's unity across the Himalayas. He had gone to the Calicut session. The session was a success under his Presidentship. People said the Jan Sangh had presented a historic spectacle of implementing its policies. People looked at him with hope and confidence. People here and abroad said that the Jan Sangh had taken a new form at Calicut. But the Jan Sangh did not take any new form; it was only the perspective of those who viewed it in a new light. Some of these eyes saw a vitiated Jan Sangh; they were jealous and they nurtured violent thoughts. The spectacle unnerved them and today Pandit

Deendayalji is no more with us. Nobody can say with certainty the circumstances under which he died. The person for whom his followers were prepared to sacrifice their lives was snuffed out of life in the darkness of the night, away from his followers. This wound will always remain raw and will continue hurting us.

### **Unfulfilled Dream**

"The cause for which Panditji was born, lived and struggled, he sacrificed his life for that ideal. But his dream is still unfulfilled; his work is still incomplete.

### **Challenge Accepted**

"The attack on his life is an attack on our nationalism. The wounds on his body are assaults on our democracy. We accept this challenge of anti-nationals and enemies of democracy. "









Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya was an acolyte of Indian culture. He occupies a place of pride among the Builders of Modern India. He was aware of the aberrations of the West and remained its lifelong critic. He worked for awakening a slumbering society and was always in the forefront of every mass movement.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya was a dedicated leader. He remained a pracharak of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh throughout his life. He became General Secretary of the Bhartiya Jan Sangh, later its President and inspired a complete political way of thinking. Besides, he was a noted literary figure and a fearless journalist.

Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma, author of this monograph, is a former parliamentarian, well-known writer, journalist and social worker.

Shakti Batra, the translator, is an academician and journalist.

